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THE

HISTORIES OF TACITUS

BOOKS I. AND II.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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PREFACE.

THE text which I have followed is that of Baiter and Orelli, as revised by Meiser in his recent edition: the ms. on which this text is based—the Medicean—is generally referred to as M. Very many of the explanatory notes have been suggested to me by the excellent commentary of Heräus: I trust that I am hereby tendering a sufficient acknowledgment of the assistance thence derived. Mr. Furneaux' edition of the *Annals* has rendered it unnecessary for me to call special and separate attention—except in the notes—to peculiarities of Tacitean grammar and style.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE period covered by the Histories comprises about two years, 69 and 70 A.D.: beginning a few months from the accession of Galba, and ending shortly after Vespasian's assumption of power. Short as the time is, it is crowded with incidents: the year 69 witnessed two civil wars and the fall of three emperors. Of the changing scenes of these few months, Tacitus has left us a striking picture, painted in his darkest colours. He represents the two campaigns as a contest between evil elements on both sides. While most of the leaders are odious for their vices or contemptible for their weakness, the soldiers are as cruel to their enemies as they are mutinous and insubordinate to their chiefs: here and there a shining trait of fidelity or bravery serves to add gloom to the surrounding darkness: but generally Tacitus' pessimism would lead us to condemn most motives and suspect all in men who are fighting for a bad cause. We cannot reasonably doubt indeed

that there was much to justify the historian's attitude in a period so morally corrupt as that of which he is writing. Always in the history of the Empire the Court is influential in forming and changing the manners of the city: and the deep demoralization of Nero's entourage, preceded by the reigns of Caligula and Claudius, must have extended in some measure to Rome and thence to her armies.

Although the narrative is a 'story without a hero,' and commends none of its principal characters to our sympathies, its interest for us—apart from its literary charm and the striking sketches of individual character which it presents—is undoubtedly great. The events described form an epoch in Roman history. It is now for the first time that we read of emperors elective and not succeeding by hereditary right: and —what is more important—of election by the armies and at a distance from the capital. Hitherto, as Galba says, the imperial power had been 'quasi hereditas unius familiae.' It is now that the armies —always since the days of Tiberius dimly conscious of the power which they might have—dare to exert their full strength and invest their generals with the purple. It must have seemed easy and natural to do so, once the spell of reverence for the imperial name, which had been at once the tie and the barrier between the Julian and Claudian emperors and their

armies, was broken. Even fifty years before, some voices in the mutinous armies of Tiberius had hinted at the election of Germanicus by the soldiers.

It is a remarkable testimony to the soundness of the imperial structure and the excellence and adaptability of Roman provincial government, that, in spite of incapable rulers and palace revolutions at home, Roman power grew steadily and peacefully abroad: and that even while Italy was shaken by civil war the imperial frontier was not seriously endangered, and provincial risings were successfully quelled. Yet it cannot be denied that forces existed which became ultimately causes of disintegration: Rome herself was deeply corrupt and Italy ruined by the later years of the Republic: and though for the time the empire was increasing and developing its strength, union and solidarity of the whole mass could not be expected to last long, while the centre was rotten.

The immediate cause of Nero's fall (68) was a Gallic rising. Apparently the object of Vindex, who headed this rebellion, was a change of emperors, not by any means emancipation from Roman rule: for he at once offered to support Galba, the governor of a Spanish province, as a candidate for the throne. He himself did not live to see the success of his

ally: attacked by the troops of Verginius Rufus, commanding in Upper Germany, he killed himself in despair. Verginius very soon after this declared for Galba: so that it seems probable that he marched against Vindex from a misunderstanding of the motive of his outbreak—whether he was responsible or not for the actual collision between the troops which resulted in Vindex' death.

Meanwhile, Galba marched on Rome with a single legion and a handful of cavalry. Although the exultation over Nero's death was by no means general among the mass of the citizens, the most important factors, the garrison and senate, seem to have been disposed to receive the new emperor with favour. He entered the city however under evil auspices. Apparently Nero had formed some thousands of marines (*classici*) into a kind of reserve, with a promise that they should eventually be incorporated in line battalions, then as now accounted a more honourable arm. But Galba showed no intention of fulfilling his predecessor's promise, and in fact seems to have intended to relegate these *classici* to their former service: in consequence they mutinied, and marched out to meet the emperor at the Mulvian bridge near Rome, with a petition, couched, as we may suppose, not in terms of the due respect: at any rate Galba punished them severely, decimating

his petitioners and putting the survivors under arrest.

A régime characterized by acts so harsh was ill calculated to conciliate a garrison and populace accustomed to be courted and amused by their rulers. The change was too sudden from the young and prodigal Nero to the stern martinet and frugal administrator of the public moneys. A commission instituted by Galba to recover the various sums lavishly given away by his predecessor made him many enemies: and the praetorian guard, who had never enthusiastically supported him, feared his strictness while they waited in vain for the promised and deferred largess. Before the emperor's arrival in Rome, Nymphidius Sabinus, their commander, had attempted to transfer their allegiance to himself: the majority of the soldiers had indeed refused to listen to his proposals, and he himself had perished: but the opposition to Nymphidius rather arose from reluctance to desert the emperor so lately accepted than from any feeling of attachment to Galba personally. Nor was Galba's popularity with the numerous troops, whom the course of events had at this time assembled in Rome, sufficient to protect him against a strong rival. In the provinces too enemies had arisen. None of the great armies had, so far as we know, readily and spontaneously ex-

pressed themselves in favour of Galba: and the rise and fall of various pretenders—Capito with the German army and Macer in Africa—illustrate the excitement and uncertainty which accompanied the change of dynasty. The outbreaks which Galba succeeded in crushing were indications of the disturbed feeling—discontent and hope of plunder—which prompted the movement of the German armies on Rome in the early spring of 69. But this insurrection Galba was not destined to encounter. On January 3rd, 69, Vitellius received the oath of allegiance from the German troops: but on the 15th Galba with his adopted successor fell a victim to his own strictness and the unpopularity of his ministers: and Otho, his successor, was left after a short term of power to be swept from his throne by the wave of armed rebellion.

CORNELII TACITI HISTORIARUM

LIBRI I. II.

CORNELII TACITI

HISTORIARUM

LIBER I.

Tacitus compares himself with preceding historians.

I. Initium mihi operis Servius Galba iterum Titus Vinius consules erunt. nam post conditam urbem octingentos et viginti prioris aevi annos multi auctores rettulerunt, dum res populi Romani memorabantur, pari eloquentia ac libertate: postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere; simul veritas pluribus modis infracta, primum inscitia rei publicae ut alienae, mox libidine adsentandi aut rursus odio adversus dominantes: ita neutris cura posteritatis inter infensos vel obnoxios. sed ambitionem scriptoris facile averseris, obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur: quippe adulationi foedum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. mihi Galba Otho Vitellius nec beneficio nec iniuria cogniti. dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano

inchoatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam non abnuerim: sed incorruptam fidem professis neque amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est. quod si vita suppeditet, principatum divi Nervae et imperium Traiani, uberiorem securioremque materiam, senectuti seposui, rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.

The period he describes is one of great calamities.

2 II. Opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox praeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevom. Quattuor principes ferro interempti: trina bella civilia, plura externa ac plerumque permixta: prosperae in Oriente, adversae in Occidente res: turbatum Illyricum, Galliae nutantes, perdomita Britannia et statim missa, coortae in nos Sarmatarum ac Sueborum gentes, nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus, mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falsi Neronis ludibrio. iam vero Italia novis cladibus vel post longam saeculorum seriem repetitis afflicta: haustae aut obrutae urbes, fecundissima Campaniae ora; et urbs incendiis vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio civium manibus incenso. pollutae caerimoniae, magna adulteria. plenum exiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli. atrocius in urbe saevitum: nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores pro crimine, et ob virtutes certissimum exitium. nec minus praemia delatorum invisa quam scelera, cum alii sacerdotia et consulatus ut spolia adepti, procurationes alii et interiorem potentiam, agerent verterent cuncta odio et terrore. corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti; et quibus
3 deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressi. III. Non

tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum, ut non et bona exempla prodiderit. comitatae profugos liberos matres, secutae maritos in exilia coniuges; propinqui audentes, constantes generi; contumax etiam adversus tormenta servorum fides; supremae clarorum virorum necessitates, ipsa *necis* necessitas fortiter tolerata et laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus. praeter multiplices rerum humanarum casus caelo terraque prodigia et fulminum monitus et futurorum praesagia, laeta tristia, ambigua manifesta. nec enim umquam atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus magisve iustis indiciis adprobatum est non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.

But has also redeeming features.

4 IV. Ceterum antequam destinata componam, repetendum videtur, qualis status urbis, quae mens exercituum, quis habitus provinciarum, quid in toto terrarum orbe validum, quid aegrum fuerit, ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causaeque noscantur. finis Neronis ut laetus primo gaudentium impetu fuerat, ita varios motus animorum non modo in urbe apud patres aut populum aut urbanum militem, sed omnes legiones ducesque conciverat, evolgato imperii arcano, posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri. sed patres laeti, usurpata statim libertate licentius ut erga principem novum et absentem; primores equitum proximi gaudio patrum; pars populi integra et magnis domibus adnexa, clientes libertique damnatorum et exulum in spem erecti: plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta, simul deterrimi servorum,

The first months after Nero's fall: Rome is variously disposed towards Galba.

aut qui adesis bonis per dedecus Neronis alebantur,
5 maesti et rumorum avidi. V. Miles urbanus longo Caesarum sacramento inbutus et ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et inpulsu quam suo ingenio traductus, postquam neque dari donativum sub nomine Galbae promissum neque magnis meritis ac praemiis eundem in pace quem in bello locum praeventamque gratiam intellegit apud principem a legionibus factum, pronus ad novas res scelere insuper Nymphidii Sabini praefecti imperium sibi molientis agitatur. et Nymphidius quidem in ipso conatu oppressus: set quamvis capite defectionis ablato manebat plerisque militum conscientia, nec deerant sermones senium atque avaritiam Galbae increpantium. laudata olim et militari fama celebrata severitas eius angebat aspernantes veterem disciplinam atque ita quattuordecim annis a Nerone adsuefactos, ut haud minus vitia principum amarent quam olim virtutes verebantur. accessit Galbae vox pro re publica honesta, ipsi anceps, legi a se militem, non emi. nec enim ad hanc formam cetera erant.

He is unpopular with the army

6 VI. Invalidum senem Titus Vinius et Cornelius Laco, alter deterrimus mortalium, alter ignavissimus, odio flagitiorum oneratum contemptu inertiae destruebant. tardum Galbae iter et cruentum interfectis Cingonio Varrone consule designato et Petronio Turpiliano consulari: ille ut Nymphidi socius, hic ut dux Neronis, inauditi atque indefensi tanquam innocentes perierant. Introitus in urbem trucidatis tot milibus inermium militum infaustus omine atque ipsis etiam qui occiderant for-

on account of his alleged cruelties

midolosus. inducta legione Hispana, remanente ea, quam e classe Nero conscripserat, plena urbs exercitu insolito; multi ad hoc numeri e Germania ac Britannia et Illyrico, quos idem Nero electos praemissosque ad claustra Caspiarum et bellum, quod in Albanos parabat, opprimendis Vindicis coeptis revocaverat: ingens novis rebus materia, ut non in unum aliquem prono
favore, ita audenti parata. VII. Forte congruerat ut 7
Clodii Macri et Fontei Capitonis caedes nuntiarentur. Macrum in Africa haud dubie turbantem Trebonius Garutianus procurator iussu Galbae, Capitonem in Germania, cum similia coeptaret, Cornelius Aquinus et Fabius Valens legati legionum interfecerant, antequam iuberentur. fuere qui crederent Capitonem ut avaritia et libidine foedum ac maculosum, ita cogitatione rerum novarum abstinuisse; sed a legatis bellum suadentibus postquam inpellere nequiverint, crimen ac dolum ultro compositum; et Galbam mobilitate ingenii, an ne altius scrutaretur, quoquo modo acta, quia mutari non poterant, comprobasse. ceterum utraque caedes sinistre accepta, et inviso semel principi seu bene seu male facta perniciem adferebant. venalia cuncta, praepotentes liberti; servorum manus subitis avidae et tanquam apud senem festinantes; eademque novae aulae mala, aeque gravia, non aeque excusata. ipsa aetas Galbae inrisui ac fastidio erat adsuetis iuventae Neronis et imperatores forma ac decore corporis, ut est mos volgi,
comparantibus. VIII. Et hic quidem Romae, tanquam 8
in tanta multitudine, habitus animorum fuit. e provinciis Hispaniae praeerat

and the nature of his court.

The provinces: state of feeling in Gaul.

Cluvius Rufus, vir facundus et pacis artibus, bellis inexpertus. Galliae super memoriam Vindicis obligatae recenti dono Romanae civitatis et in posterum tributi levamento. proximae tamen Germanicis exercitibus Galliarum civitates non eodem honore habitae, quaedam etiam finibus ademptis pari dolore commoda aliena ac suas iniurias metiebantur. Germanici exercitus, quod periculosissimum in tantis viribus, solliciti et irati, superbia recentis victoriae et metu tanquam alias partes fovissent. tarde a Nerone desciverant; nec statim pro Galba Verginius: an imperare noluisset dubium: delatum ei a milite imperium conveniebat. Fonteium Capitonem occisum etiam qui queri non poterant, tamen indignabantur.

in the armies of Germany,

dux deerat, abducto Verginio per simulationem amicitiae; quem non remitti atque etiam reum esse tanquam suum crimen accipiebant.

9 IX. Superior exercitus legatum Hordeonium Flaccum spernebat, senecta ac debilitate pedum invalidum, sine constantia, sine auctoritate, ne quieto quidem milite regimen: adeo furentes infirmitate retinentis ultro accendebantur. inferioris Germaniae legiones diutius sine consulari fuere, donec missu Galbae A. Vitellius aderat, censoris Vitellii ac ter consulis filius: id satis videbatur.

Britain,

in Britannico exercitu nihil irarum: non sane aliae legiones per omnes civilium bellorum motus innocentius egerunt, seu quia procul et Oceano divisae, seu crebris expeditionibus doctae hostem potius odisse.

and Illyricum.

quies et Illyrico, quanquam excitae a Nerone legiones, dum in Italia cunctantur, Verginium legationibus

adissent. sed longis spatiis discreti exercitus, quod
saluberrimum est ad continendam militarem fidem,
nec vitiis nec viribus miscebantur. X. Oriens adhuc **10**
inmotus. Syriam et quattuor legiones *The East: Muci-*
obtinebat Licinius Mucianus, vir se- *anus.*
cundis adversisque iuxta famosus. insignes amicitias
iuvenis ambitiose coluerat; mox attritis opibus,
lubrico statu, suspecta etiam Claudii iracundia, in
secretum Asiae sepositus tam prope ab exule fuit
quam postea a principe. luxuria industria, comitate
adrogantia, malis bonisque artibus mixtus. nimiae
voluptates, cum vacaret: quotiens expedierat, magnae
virtutes. palam laudares: secreta male audiebant.
sed apud subiectos, apud proximos, apud collegas
variis illecebris potens, et cui expeditius fuerit tradere
imperium quam obtinere. bellum Iudaicum Flavius
Vespasianus (ducem eum Nero delegerat) *Vespasian.*
tribus legionibus administrabat. nec Vespasiano
adversus Galbam votum aut animus: quippe Titum
filium ad venerationem cultumque eius miserat, ut
suo loco memorabimus. occulta fati et ostentis ac
responsis destinatum Vespasiano liberisque eius im-
perium post fortunam credidimus. XI. Aegyptum **11**
copiasque, quibus coerceretur, iam inde a *State of Egypt,*
divo Augusto equites Romani obtinent loco regum:
ita visum expedire, provinciam aditu difficilem,
annonae fecundam, superstitione ac lascivia dis-
cordem et mobilem, insciam legum, ignaram magis-
tratuum, domi retinere. regebat tum Tiberius
Alexander, eiusdem nationis. Africa ac *Africa,*
legiones in ea interfecto Clodio Macro contenta quali-

cumque principe post experimentum domini minoris.

and the remaining provinces.

duae Mauritaniae, Raetia, Noricum, Thracia et quae aliae procuratoribus cohibentur, ut cuique exercitui vicinae, ita in favorem aut odium contactu valentiorum agebantur. inermes provinciae atque ipsa in primis Italia, cuicumque servitio exposita, in pretium belli cessurae erant. hic fuit rerum Romanarum status, cum Servius Galba iterum Titus Vinius consules inchoavere annum sibi ultimum, rei publicae prope supremum.

12 XII. Paucis post kalendas Ianuarias diebus Pompei

The news of revolt on the Rhine confirms Galba's resolve to adopt a successor.

Propinqui procuratoris e Belgica litterae adferuntur, superioris Germaniae legiones rupta sacramenti reverentia imperatorem alium flagitare et senatui ac populo Romano arbitrium eligendi permittere, quo seditio mollius acciperetur. maturavit ea res consilium Galbae iam pridem de adoptione secum et cum proximis agitantis. non sane crebrior tota civitate sermo per illos menses fuerat, primum licentia ac libidine talia loquendi, dein fessa iam aetate Galbae. paucis iudicium aut rei publicae amor: multi stulta spe, prout quis amicus vel cliens, hunc vel illum ambitiosis rumoribus destinabant, etiam in Titi Vini odium, qui in dies quanto potentior, eodem auctu invisior erat. quippe hiantes in magna fortuna amicorum cupiditates ipsa Galbae facilitas intendebat, cum apud infirmum et credulum
13 minore metu et maiore praemio peccaretur. XIII. Potentia principatus divisa in Titum Vinium consulem, Cornelium Laconem praetorii praefectum; nec minor

gratia Icelo Galbae liberto, quem anulis donatum equestri nomine Marcianum vocitabant.

Attitude of his ministers towards Otho.

hi discordes et rebus minoribus sibi quisque tendentes circa consilium eligendi successoris in duas factiones scindebantur. Vinius pro M. Othone: Laco atque Icelus consensu non tam unum aliquem fovebant quam alium. neque erat Galbae ignota Othonis ac Titi Vini amicitia: et rumoribus nihil silentio transmittentium, quia Vinio vidua filia, caelebs Otho, gener ac socer destinabantur. credo et rei publicae curam subisse frustra a Nerone translatae, si apud Othonem relinqueretur. namque Otho pueritiam incuriose, adulescentiam petulanter egerat, gratus Neroni aemulatione luxus. eoque Poppaeam Sabinam, principale scortum, ut apud conscium libidinum, deposuerat, donec Octaviam uxorem amoliretur. mox suspectum in eadem Poppaea in provinciam Lusitaniam specie legationis seposuit. Otho comiter administrata provincia primus in partes transgressus nec segnis et, donec bellum fuit, inter praesentes splendidissimus spem adoptionis statim conceptam acrius in dies rapiebat, faventibus plerisque militum, prona in eum aula Neronis ut similem. XIV. **14**

Galba adopts Piso Licinianus.

Sed Galba post nuntios Germanicae seditionis, quanquam nihil adhuc de Vitellio certum, anxius quonam exercituum vis erumperet, ne urbano quidem militi confisus, quod remedium unicum rebatur, comitia imperii transigit; adhibitoque super Vinium ac Laconem Mario Celso consule designato ac Ducenio Gemino praefecto urbis pauca praefatus de sua senectute Pisonem Licinianum ac-

cersiri iubet, seu propria electione sive, ut quidam crediderunt, Lacone instante, cui apud Rubellium Plautum exercita cum Pisone amicitia: sed callide ut ignotum fovebat et prospera de Pisone fama consilio eius fidem addiderat. Piso M. Crasso et Scribonia genitus, nobilis utrimque, voltu, habituque moris antiqui et aestimatione recta severus, deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur. ea pars morum

15 eius quo suspectior sollicitis, adoptanti placebat. XV. Igitur Galba adprehensa Pisonis manu in hunc modum locutus fertur: "si te privatus lege curiata apud pontifices, ut moris est, adoptarem et mihi egregium erat Cn. Pompei et M. Crassi subolem in penates meos adsciscere et tibi insigne Sulpiciae ac Lutatiae decora nobilitati tuae adiecisse. nunc me deorum hominumque consensu ad imperium vocatum praeclara indoles tua et amor patriae impulit, ut principatum, de quo maiores nostri armis certabant, bello adeptus quiescenti offeram, exemplo divi Augusti, qui sororis filium Marcellum, dein, generum Agrippam, mox nepotes suos, postremo Tiberium Neronem privignum in proximo sibi fastigio collocavit. sed Augustus in domo successorem quaesivit, ego in re publica, non quia propinquos aut socios belli non habeam: sed neque ipse imperium ambitione accepi, et iudicii mei documentum sit non meae tantum necessitudines, quas tibi postposui, sed et tuae. est tibi frater pari nobilitate, natu maior, dignus hac fortuna, nisi tu potior esses. ea aetas tua, quae cupiditates adulescentiae iam effugerit; ea vita, in

His speech on the occasion.

'It is for your virtues that I choose you:

qua nihil praeteritum excusandum habeas. fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti: secundae res acrioribus stimulis animos explorant, quia miseriae tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur. fidem libertatem amicitiam, praecipua humani animi bona, tu quidem eadem constantia retinebis, sed alii per obsequium imminuent. Inrumpet adulatio blanditiae, pessimum veri affectus venenum, sua cuique etiam utilitas. ego ac tu simplicissime inter nos hodie loquimur: ceteri libentius cum fortuna nostra quam nobiscum. nam suadere principi, quod oporteat, multi laboris: adsentatio erga quemcumque principem sine affectu peragitur.

XVI. Si inmensum imperii corpus stare ac librari sine rectore posset, dignus eram a quo res publica inciperet: nunc eo necessitatis iam pridem ventum est, ut nec mea senectus conferre plus populo Romano posset quam bonum successorem nec tua plus iuventa quam bonum principem. sub Tiberio et Gaio et Claudio unius familiae quasi hereditas fuimus: loco libertatis erit quod eligi coepimus, et finita Iuliorum Claudiorumque domo optimum quemque adoptio inveniet. nam generari et nasci a principibus fortuitum nec ultra aestimatur: adoptandi iudicium integrum; et si velis eligere, consensu monstratur. sit ante oculos Nero, quem longa Caesarum serie tumentem non Vindex cum inermi provincia aut ego cum una legione, sed sua immanitas, sua luxuria cervicibus publicis depulerunt; neque erat adhuc damnati principis exemplum. nos bello et ab aestimantibus adsciti cum invidia, quamvis egregii, erimus. ne 16

exposed to public criticism, you must rule well to justify your elevation.'

tamen territus fueris, si duae legiones in hoc concussi orbis motu nondum quiescunt. ne ipse quidem ad securas res accessi; et audita adoptione desinam videri senex, quod nunc mihi unum obicitur. Nero a pessimo quoque semper desiderabitur: mihi ac tibi providendum est, ne etiam a bonis desideretur. monere diutius neque temporis huius et impletum est omne consilium, si te bene elegi. utilissimus idem ac brevissimus bonarum malarumque rerum dilectus est cogitare, quid aut volueris sub alio principe aut nolueris. neque enim hic, ut gentibus quae regnantur, certa dominorum domus et ceteri servi, sed imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem." et Galba quidem haec ac talia, tanquam principem faceret,

17 ceteri tanquam cum facto loquebantur. XVII. Pisonem ferunt statim intuentibus et mox coniectis in eum omnium oculis nullum turbati aut exultantis animi motum prodidisse. sermo erga patrem imperatoremque reverens, de se moderatus; nihil in voltu habituque mutatum, quasi imperare posset magis quam vellet. consultatum inde, pro rostris an in senatu an in castris adoptio nuncuparetur. iri in castra placuit: honorificum id militibus fore, quorum favorem ut largitione et ambitu male adquiri, ita per bonas artes haud spernendum. circumsteterat interim Palatium publica expectatio, magni secreti inpatiens; et male

The adoption is ill received by the soldiers.

18 coercitam famam supprimentes augebant. XVIII. Quartum idus Ianuarias, foedum imbribus diem, tonitrua et fulgura et caelestes minae ultra solitum

turbaverant. observatum id antiquitus comitiis dirimendis non terruit Galbam, quo minus in castra pergeret, contemptorem talium ut fortuitorum, seu quae fato manent, quamvis significata, non vitantur. apud frequentem militum contionem imperatoria brevitate adoptari a se Pisonem exemplo divi Augusti et more militari, quo vir virum legeret, pronuntiat. ac ne dissimulata seditio in maius crederetur, ultro adseverat quartam et duoetvicesimam legiones paucis seditionis auctoribus non ultra verba ac voces errasse et brevi in officio fore. nec ullum orationi aut lenocinium addit aut pretium. tribuni tamen centurionesque et proximi militum grata auditu respondent: per ceteros maestitia ac silentium, tanquam usurpatam etiam in pace donativi necessitatem bello perdidissent. constat potuisse conciliari animos quantulacumque parci senis liberalitate: nocuit antiquus rigor et nimia severitas, cui iam pares non sumus. **19**

XIX. Inde apud senatum non comptior Galbae, non longior quam apud militem sermo: Pisonis comis oratio. et patrum favor aderat: multi voluntate, effusius qui noluerant, medii ac plurimi obvio obsequio, privatas spes agitantes sine publica cura. nec aliud sequenti quadriduo, quod medium inter adoptionem et caedem fuit, dictum a Pisone in publico factumve. crebrioribus in dies Germanicae defectionis nuntiis et facili civitate ad accipienda credendaque omnia nova, cum tristia sunt, censuerant patres mittendos ad Germanicum exercitum legatos. agitatum secreto, num et Piso proficisceretur, maiore praetexto. illi auctoritatem

Piso is welcomed by the Senate.

It is resolved to send envoys to the German armies.

senatus, hic dignationem Caesaris laturus. placebat et Laconem praetorii praefectum simul mitti: is consilio intercessit. legati quoque (nam senatus electionem Galbae permiserat) foeda inconstantia nominati excusati substituti, ambitu remanendi aut eundi, ut
20 quemque metus vel spes inpulerat. XX. Proxima pecuniae cura; et cuncta scrutantibus iustissimum visum est inde repeti, ubi inopiae causa erat. bis et vicies milies sestertium donationibus Nero effuderat. appellari singulos iussit, decuma parte liberalitatis apud quemque eorum relicta. at illis vix decumae super portiones erant, isdem erga aliena sumptibus, quibus sua prodegerant, cum rapacissimo cuique ac perditissimo non agri aut faenus, sed sola instrumenta vitiorum manerent. exactioni triginta equites Romani praepositi, novum officii genus et ambitu ac numero onerosum. ubique hasta et sector et inquieta urbs auctionibus. ac tamen grande gaudium, quod tam pauperes forent quibus donasset Nero quam quibus abstulisset. exauctorati per eos dies tribuni, e praetorio Antonius Taurus et Antonius Naso, ex urbanis cohortibus Aemilius Pacensis, e vigilibus Iulius Fronto. nec remedium in ceteros fuit, sed metus initium, tanquam per artem et formidinem singuli pellerentur omnibus suspectis.

A commission is instituted to recover the monies squandered by Nero.

Otho's fears for his safety incite him to action.

21 XXI. Interea Othonem, cui compositis rebus nulla spes, omne in turbido consilium, multa simul extimulabant, luxuria etiam principi onerosa, inopia vix privato toler

anda, in Galbam ira, in Pisonem invidia. fingebat et metum, quo magis concupisceret. praegravem se Neroni fuisse nec Lusitaniam rursus et alterius exilii honorem expectandum. suspectum semper invisumque dominantibus qui proximus destinaretur. nocuisse id sibi apud senem principem, magis nociturum apud iuvenem ingenio trucem et longo exilio efferatum. occidi Othonem posse. proinde agendum audendumque, dum Galbae auctoritas fluxa, Pisonis nondum coaluisset. opportunos magnis conatibus transitus rerum, nec cunctatione opus, ubi perniciosior sit quies quam temeritas, mortem omnibus ex natura aequalem, oblivione apud posteros vel gloria distingui. ac si nocentem innocentemque idem exitus maneat, acrioris viri esse merito perire. XXII. Non **22**
erat Othonis mollis et corpori similis animus. et intimi libertorum servorumque corruptius quam in privata domo habiti aulam Neronis et luxus, adulteria matrimonia ceterasque regnorum libidines avido talium, si auderet, ut sua ostentantes, *His advisers.* quiescenti ut aliena exprobrabant, urgentibus etiam mathematicis, dum novos motus et clarum Othoni annum observatione siderum adfirmant, genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur. multos secreta Poppaeae mathematicos, pessimum principalis matrimonii instrumentum, habuerant; e quibus Ptolemaeus Othoni in Hispania comes, cum superfuturum eum Neroni promisisset, postquam ex eventu fides, coniectura iam et rumore senium Galbae et iuventam Othonis computantium persuaserat fore ut

in imperium ascisceretur. sed Otho tamquam peritia et monitu fatorum praedicta accipiebat, cupidine in-
23 genii humani libentius obscura credendi. XXIII. Nec deerat Ptolemaeus, iam et sceleris instinctor, ad quod facillime ab eiusmodi voto transitur. sed sceleris cogitatio incertum an repens: studia militum iam pridem spe successionis aut paratu facinoris adfectaverat, in itinere, in agmine, in stationibus vetustissimum quemque militum nomine vocans ac memoria Neroniani comitatus contubernales appellando; alios agnoscere, quosdam requirere et pecunia aut gratia iuvare, inserendo saepius querellas et ambiguos de Galba sermones, quaeque alia turbamenta volgi. labores itinerum, inopia commeatuum, duritia imperii atrocius accipiebantur, cum Campaniae lacus et Achaiae urbes classibus adire soliti Pyrenaeum et Alpes et inmensa viarum spatia aegre sub armis
24 eniterentur. XXIV. Flagrantibus iam militum animis velut faces addiderat Maevius Pudens, e proximis Tigellini. Is mobilissimum quemque ingenio aut pecuniae indigum et in novas cupiditates praecipitem alliciendo eo paulatim progressus est, ut per speciem convivii, quotiens Galba apud Othonem epularetur, cohorti excubias agenti viritim centenos nummos divideret; quam velut publicam largitionem Otho secretioribus apud singulos praemiis intendebat, adeo animosus corruptor, ut Cocceio Proculo speculatori de parte finium cum vicino ambigenti universum vicini agrum sua pecunia emptum dono dederit, per socordiam praefecti, quem nota pariter et occulta fallebant.

He undermines the allegiance of the army.

XXV. Sed tum e libertis Onomastum futuro sceleri **25** praefecit, a quo Barbium Proculum tesserarium speculatorum et Venturium optionem eorundem perductos, postquam vario sermone callidos audacesque cognovit, pretio et promissis onerat, data pecunia ad pertemptandos plurium animos. suscepere duo manipulares imperium populi Romani transferendum et transtulerunt. in conscientiam facinoris pauci adsciti. suspensos ceterorum animos diversis artibus stimulant, primores militum per beneficia Nymphidi ut suspectos, volgus et ceteros ira et desperatione dilati totiens donativi. erant quos memoria Neronis ac desiderium prioris licentiae accenderet: in commune omnes metu mutandae militiae terrebantur. XXVI. Infecit ea ta- **26** bes legionum quoque et auxiliorum motas iam mentes, postquam volgatum erat labare Germanici exercitus fidem. adeoque parata apud malos seditio, etiam apud integros dissimulatio fuit, ut postero iduum die redeuntem a cena Othonem rapturi fuerint, ni incerta noctis et tota urbe sparsa militum castra nec facilem inter temulentos consensum timuissent, non rei publicae cura, quam foedare principis sui sanguine sobrii parabant, sed ne per tenebras, ut quisque Pannonici vel Germanici exercitus militibus oblatus esset, ignorantibus plerisque, pro Othone destinaretur. multa erumpentis seditionis indicia per conscios oppressa: quaedam apud Galbae aures praefectus Laco elusit, ignarus militarium animorum consiliique quamvis egregii, quod non ipse afferret, inimicus et adversus peritos pervicax. XXVII. Octavo decimo kalendas **27** Februarias sacrificanti pro aede Apollinis Galbae

On Jan. 15 the conspirators present Otho to the soldiers as emperor.

haruspex Umbricius tristia exta et instantes insidias ac domesticum hostem praedicit, audiente Othone (nam proximus adstiterat) idque ut laetum e contrario et suis cogitationibus prosperum interpretante. nec multo post libertus Onomastus nuntiat expectari eum ab architecto et redemptoribus; quae significatio coeuntium iam militum et paratae coniurationis convenerat. Otho causam digressus requirentibus cum emi sibi praedia vetustate suspecta eoque prius exploranda finxisset, innixus liberto per Tiberianam domum in Velabrum, inde ad miliarium aureum sub aedem Saturni pergit. ibi tres et viginti speculatores consalutatum imperatorem ac paucitate salutantium trepidum et sellae festinanter impositum strictis mucronibus rapiunt. totidem ferme milites in itinere adgregantur, alii conscientia, plerique miraculo, pars clamore et gaudiis, par silentio, animum ex eventu
28 sumpturi. XXVIII. Stationem in castris agebat Iulius Martialis tribunus. is magnitudine subiti sceleris, an corrupta latius castra et, si contra tenderet, exitium metuens praebuit plerisque suspicionem conscientiae. anteposuere ceteri quoque tribuni centurionesque praesentia dubiis et honestis, isque habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.

29 XXIX. Ignarus interim Galba et sacris intentus fatigabat alieni iam imperii deos, cum adfertur rumor rapi in castra incertum quem senatorem, mox Othonem esse qui raperetur; simul ex tota urbe, ut quisque obvius fuerat, alii formidine augentes, quidam

minora vero, ne tum quidem obliti adulationis. igitur consultantibus placuit pertemptari animum cohortis, quae in Palatio stationem agebat, nec per ipsum Galbam, cuius integra auctoritas maioribus remediis servabatur. Piso pro gradibus domus vocatos in hunc modum adlocutus est:

Piso appeals to the loyalty of the soldiers on guard.

"sextus dies agitur, commilitones, ex quo ignarus futuri, et sive optandum hoc nomen sive timendum erat, Caesar adscitus sum. quo domus nostrae aut rei publicae fato, in vestra manu positum est, non quia meo nomine tristiorem casum paveam, ut qui adversas res expertus cum maxime discam ne secundas quidem minus discriminis habere: patris et senatus et ipsius imperii vicem doleo, si nobis aut perire hodie necesse est aut, quod aeque apud bonos miserum est, occidere. solacium proximi motus habebamus incruentam urbem et res sine discordia translatas. provisum adoptione videbatur, ut ne post Galbam quidem bello locus esset. XXX. Nihil adrogabo mihi nobili- **30**
tatis aut modestiae: neque enim relatu virtutum in comparatione Othonis opus est. vitia, quibus solis gloriatur, evertere imperium, etiam cum amicum imperatoris ageret. habitune et incessu an illo muliebri ornatu mereretur imperium? falluntur quibus luxuria specie liberalitatis inponit. perdere iste sciet, donare nesciet. stupra nunc et comissationes et feminarum coetus volvit animo: haec principatus praemia putat, quorum libido ac voluptas penes ipsum sit, rubor ac dedecus penes omnes. nemo enim umquam imperium flagitio quaesitum

bonis artibus exercuit. Galbam consensus generis humani, me Galba consentientibus vobis Caesarem dixit. si res publica et senatus et populus vacua nomina sunt, vestra, commilitones, interest ne imperatorem pessimi faciant. legionum seditio adversus duces suos audita est aliquando: vestra fides famaque inlaesa ad hunc diem mansit. et Nero quoque vos destituit, non vos Neronem. minus triginta transfugae et desertores, quos centurionem aut tribunum sibi eligentes nemo ferret, imperium adsignabunt? admittitis exemplum et quiescendo commune crimen facitis? transcendet haec licentia in provincias et ad nos scelerum exitus, bellorum ad vos pertinebunt. nec est plus quod pro caede principis quam quod innocentibus datur, sed proinde a nobis donativom ob fidem quam ab aliis pro facinore accipietis."

31 *Galba attempts to conciliate the remaining troops, unsuccessfully.*

XXXI. Dilapsis speculatoribus cetera cohors non aspernata contionantem, ut turbidis rebus evenit, forte magis et nullo adhuc consilio rapit signa *quam*, quod postea creditum est, insidiis et simulatione. missus et Celsus Marius ad electos Illyrici exercitus Vipsania in porticu tendentes. praeceptum Amulio Sereno et Domitio Sabino primipilaribus, ut Germanicos milites e Libertatis atrio accerserent. legioni classicae diffidebatur infestae ob caedem commilitonum, quos primo statim introitu trucidaverat Galba. pergunt etiam in castra praetorianorum tribuni Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, Pompeius Longinus, si incipiens adhuc et necdum adulta seditio melioribus consiliis flecteretur. tribunorum

Subrium et Cetrium adorti milites minis, Longinum manibus coercent exarmantque, quia non ordine militiae, sed e Galbae amicis, fidus principi suo et desciscentibus suspectior erat. legio classica nihil cunctata praetorianis adiungitur. Illyrici exercitus electi Celsum infestis pilis proturbant. Germanica vexilla diu nutavere, invalidis adhuc corporibus et placatis animis, quod eos a Nerone Alexandriam praemissos atque inde rursus longa navigatione aegros inpensiore cura Galba refovebat. XXXII. **32**
Universa iam plebs Palatium implebat, mixtis servitiis et dissono clamore caedem Othonis et coniuratorum exitium poscentium, ut si in circo aut theatro ludicrum aliquod postularent: neque illis iudicium aut veritas, quippe eodem die diversa pari certamine postulaturis, sed tradito more quemcumque principem adulandi licentia adclamationum et studiis inanibus. interim Galbam duae sententiae distinebant. Titus Vinius manendum intra domum, opponenda servitia, firmandos aditus, non eundum ad iratos censebat. daret malorum paenitentiae, daret bonorum consensui spatium. scelera impetu, bona consilia mora valescere. denique eundi ultro, si ratio sit, eandem mox facultatem; regressum, si paeniteat, in aliena potestate. XXXIII. Festinandum ceteris **33**
videbatur, antequam cresceret invalida adhuc coniuratio paucorum. trepidaturum etiam Othonem, qui furtim digressus, ad ignaros inlatus, cunctatione nunc et segnitia terentium tempus imitari principem discat. non expectandum, ut compositis castris forum invadat

After much hesitation

et prospectante Galba Capitolium adeat, dum egregius imperator cum fortibus amicis ianua ac limine tenus domum cludit, obsidionem nimirum toleraturus. et praeclarum in servis auxilium, si consensus tantae multitudinis et, quae plurimum valet, prima indignatio elanguescat. proinde intuta quae indecora. vel si cadere necesse sit, occurrendum discrimini: id Othoni invidiosius et ipsis honestum. repugnantem huic sententiae Vinium Laco minaciter invasit, stimulante Icelo privati odii pertinacia in publicum exitium.

34 XXXIV. Nec diutius Galba cunctatus speciosiora

he sets out for the camp,

suadentibus accessit. praemissus tamen in castra Piso ut iuvenis magno nomine, recenti favore et infensus Tito Vinio, seu quia erat, seu quia irati ita volebant; et facilius de odio creditur. vixdum egresso Pisone occisum in castris Othonem vagus primum et incertus rumor: mox, ut in magnis mendaciis, interfuisse se quidam et vidisse adfirmabant, credula fama inter gaudentes et incuriosos. multi arbitrabantur compositum auctumque rumorem mixtis

hearing a report of Otho's death.

iam Othonianis, qui ad evocandum Gal-
35 bam laeta falso volgaverint. XXXV. Tum vero non populus tantum et imperita plebs in plausus et inmodica studia, sed equitum plerique ac senatorum, posito metu incauti, refractis Palatii foribus ruere intus ac se Galbae ostentare, praereptam sibi ultionem querentes, ignavissimus quisque et, ut res docuit, in periculo non ausurus nimii verbis, linguae feroces; nemo scire et omnes adfirmare, donec inopia veri et consensu errantium victus sumpto thorace Galba inruenti turbae neque aetate

neque corpore resistens sella levaretur. obvius in Palatio Iulius Atticus speculator cruentum gladium ostentans occisum a se Othonem exclamavit; et Galba "commilito," inquit, "quis iussit?" insigni animo ad coercendam militarem licentiam, minantibus intrepidus, adversus blandientes incorruptus.

XXXVI. Haud dubiae iam in castris omnium mentes 36
tantusque ardor, ut non contenti agmine et corporibus in suggestu, in quo paulo ante aurea Galbae statua fuerat, medium inter signa Othonem vexillis circumdarent. Nec tribunis aut centurionibus adeundi locus: gregarius miles caveri insuper praepositos iubebat. strepere cuncta clamoribus et tumultu et exhortatione mutua, non tanquam in populo ac plebe variis segni adulatione vocibus, sed ut quemque adfluentium militum aspexerant, prensare manibus, conplecti armis, conlocare iuxta, praeire sacramentum, modo imperatorem militibus, modo milites imperatori commendare. nec deerat Otho protendens manus adorare volgum, iacere oscula et omnia serviliter pro dominatione. postquam universa classicorum legio sacramentum eius accepit, fidens viribus, et quos adhuc singulos extimulaverat, accendendos in commune ratus, pro vallo castrorum ita coepit: XXXVII. "Quis ad vos processerim, commilitones, dicere non possum, quia nec privatum me vocare sustineo princeps a vobis nominatus nec principem alio imperante. vestrum quoque nomen in incerto erit, donec dubitabitur, imperatorem populi Romani in castris an hostem habeatis. auditisne, ut

Meanwhile the army receives Otho with enthusiasm.

Otho's speech. 37

"Galba's rule is odious to all,

poena mea et supplicium vestrum simul postulentur? adeo manifestum est neque perire nos neque salvos esse nisi una posse. et cuius lenitatis est Galba, iam fortasse promisit, ut qui nullo exposcente tot milia innocentissimorum militum trucidaverit. horror animum subit, quotiens recordor feralem introitum et hanc solam Galbae victoriam, cum in oculis urbis decumari deditos iuberet, quos deprecantes in fidem acceperat. his auspiciis urbem ingressus, quam gloriam ad principatum attulit nisi occisi Obultronii Sabini et Cornelii Marcelli in Hispania, Betui Chilonis in Gallia, Fontei Capitonis in Germania, Clodii Macri in Africa, Cingonii in via, Turpiliani in urbe, Nymphidi in castris? quae usquam provincia, quae castra sunt nisi cruenta et maculata aut, ut ipse praedicat, emendata et correcta? nam quae alii scelera, hic remedia vocat, dum falsis nominibus severitatem pro saevitia, parsimoniam pro avaritia, supplicia et contumelias vestras disciplinam appellat. septem a Neronis fine menses sunt et iam plus rapuit Icelus, quam Polycliti et Vatinii et Aegiali, quoad perierunt. Minore avaritia ac licentia grassatus esset T. Vinius, si ipse imperasset: nunc et subiectos nos habuit tanquam suos et viles ut alienos. una illa domus sufficit donativo, quod vobis numquam datur et cotidie expro-
38 bratur XXXVIII. Ac ne qua saltem in successore Galbae spes esset, accersit ab exilio, quem tristitia et avaritia sui simillimum iudicabat.

and it is for you to overthrow it."

vidistis, commilitones, notabili tempestate etiam deos infaustam adoptionem aversantes.

idem senatus, idem populi Romani animus est. vestra virtus expectatur, apud quos omne honestis consiliis robur et sine quibus quamvis egregia invalida sunt. non ad bellum vos nec ad periculum voco: omnium militum arma nobiscum sunt. nec una cohors togata defendit nunc Galbam, sed detinet. cum vos aspexerit, cum signum meum acceperit, hoc solum erit certamen, quis mihi plurimum inputet. nullus cunctationi locus est in eo consilio, quod non potest laudari nisi peractum." aperire deinde armamentarium iussit. rapta statim arma, sine more et ordine militiae, ut praetorianus aut legionarius insignibus suis distingueretur: miscentur auxiliaribus galeis scutisque, nullo tribunorum centurionumve adhortante, sibi quisque dux et instigator; et praecipuum pessimorum incitamentum, quod boni maerebant.

Galba and Piso proceed to the Forum amidst general confusion.

XXXIX. Iam exterritus Piso fremitu crebrescentis 39
seditionis et vocibus in urbem usque resonantibus egressum interim Galbam et foro appropinquantem adsecutus erat, iam Marius Celsus haud laeta rettulerat, cum alii in Palatium redire, alii Capitolium petere, plerique rostra occupanda censerent, plures tantum sententiis aliorum contradicerent, utque evenit in consiliis infelicibus, optima viderentur, quorum tempus effugerat. agitasse Laco ignaro Galba de occidendo Tito Vinio dicitur, sive ut poena eius animos militum mulceret, seu conscium Othonis credebat, ad postremum vel odio. haesitationem attulit tempus ac locus, quia initio

caedis orto difficilis modus, et turbavere consilium trepidi nuntii ac proximorum diffugia, languentibus omnium studiis, qui primo alacres fidem atque animum
40 ostentaverant. XL. Agebatur huc illuc Galba vario turbae fluctuantis inpulsu, completis undique basilicis ac templis, lugubri prospectu. neque populi aut plebis ulla vox, sed attoniti voltis et conversae ad omnia aures. non tumultus, non quies, quale magni metus et magnae irae silentium est. Othoni tamen armari plebem nuntiabatur. ire praecipites et occupare pericula iubet. igitur milites Romani, quasi Vologaesum aut Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio depulsuri ac non imperatorem suum inermem et senem trucidare pergerent, disiecta plebe, pro-

Galba is there attacked and murdered.

culcato senatu, truces armis, rapidi equis forum irrumpunt. nec illos Capitolii aspectus et imminentium templorum religio et priores et futuri principes terruere, quo minus facerent scelus,
41 cuius ultor est quisquis successit. XLI. Viso comminus armatorum agmine vexillarius comitatae Galbam cohortis (Atilium Vergilionem fuisse tradunt) dereptam Galbae imaginem solo adflixit. eo signo manifesta in Othonem omnium militum studia, desertum fuga populi forum, destricta adversus dubitantes tela. iuxta Curtii lacum trepidatione ferentium Galba proiectus e sella ac provolutus est. extremam eius vocem, ut cuique odium aut admiratio fuit, varie prodidere: alii suppliciter interrogasse quid mali meruisset, paucos dies exolvendo donativo deprecatum; plures obtulisse ultro percussoribus iugulum: agerent ac ferirent, si ita *e*

re publica videretur. non interfuit occidentium quid
diceret. de percussore non satis constat. quidam
Terentium evocatum, alii Laecanium; crebrior fama
tradidit Camurium quintae decimae legionis militem
inpresso gladio iugulum eius hausisse. ceteri crura
brachiaque (nam pectus tegebatur) foede laniavere;
pleraque volnera feritate et saevitia trunco iam cor-
pori adiecta. XLII. Titum inde Vinium invasere. 42
de quo et ipso ambigitur, consumpseritne
vocem eius instans metus, an proclama-
verit non esse ab Othone mandatum, ut occideretur.
quod seu finxit formidine seu conscientiam coniura-
tionis confessus est, huc potius eius vita famaque
inclinat, ut conscius sceleris fuerit, cuius causa erat.
ante aedem divi Iulii iacuit primo ictu in poplitem,
mox ab Iulio Caro legionario milite in utrumque latus
transverberatus. XLIII. Insignem illa die virum 43
Sempronium Densum aetas nostra vidit. centurio is
praetoriae cohortis, a Galba custodiae Pisonis additus,
stricto pugione occurrens armatis et scelus exprobrans
ac modo manu modo voce vertendo in se percussores
quanquam vulnerato Pisoni effugium dedit. Piso in
aedem Vestae pervasit exceptusque misericordia
publici servi et contubernio eius abditus non re-
ligione nec caerimoniis sed latebra imminens exitium
differebat, cum advenere missu Othonis nominatim
in caedem eius ardentis Sulpicius Florus e Britan-
nicis cohortibus, nuper a Galba civitate donatus, et
Statius Murcus speculator, a quibus protractus Piso
in foribus templi trucidatur. XLIV. Nullam caedem 44
Otho maiore laetitia excepisse, nullum caput tam

Vinius and Piso are put to death.

insatiabilibus oculis perlustrasse dicitur, seu tum primum levata omni sollicitudine mens vacare gaudio coeperat, seu recordatio maiestatis in Galba, amicitiae in Tito Vinio quamvis inmitem animum imagine tristi confuderat: Pisonis ut inimici et aemuli caede laetari ius fasque credebat. praefixa contis capita gestabantur inter signa cohortium, iuxta aquilam legionis, certatim ostentantibus cruentas manus qui occiderant, qui interfuerant, qui vere qui falso ut pulchrum et memorabile facinus iactabant. plures quam centum viginti libellos praemium exposcentium ob aliquam notabilem illa die operam Vitellius postea invenit omnesque conquiri et interfici iussit, non honori Galbae, sed tradito principibus more, munimentum ad praesens, in posterum ultionem.

45 XLV. Alium crederes senatum, alium populum. ruere cuncti in castra, anteire proximos, certare cum praecurrentibus, increpare Galbam, laudare militum iudicium, exosculari Othonis manum; quantoque magis falsa erant quae fiebant, tanto plura facere.

The coup d'état *is generally welcomed.*

nec aspernabatur singulos Otho avidum et minacem militum animum voce vultuque temperans. Marium Celsum consulem designatum et Galbae usque in extremas res amicum fidumque *ad* supplicium expostulabant, industriae eius innocentiaeque quasi malis artibus infensi. caedis et praedarum initium et optimo cuique perniciem quaeri apparebat. sed Othoni nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum scelus: iubere iam poterat. ita simulatione irae vinciri iussum et maiores poenas daturum adfirmans prae-

senti exitio subtraxit. XLVI. Omnia deinde arbitrio 46
militum acta. praetorii praefectos sibi ipsi legere, Plotium Firmum e manipularibus quondam, tum vigilibus praepositum et incolumi adhuc Galba partes Othonis secutum; adiungitur Licinius Proculus, intima familiaritate Othonis suspectus consilia eius fovisse.

Otho makes changes in the army.

urbi Flavium Sabinum praefecere iudicium Neronis secuti, sub quo eandem curam obtinuerat, plerisque Vespasianum fratrem in eo respicientibus. flagitatum, ut vacationes praestari centurionibus solitae remitterentur: namque gregarius miles ut tributum annuum pendebat. quarta pars manipuli sparsa per commeatus aut in ipsis castris vaga, dum mercedem centurioni exolveret, neque modum oneris quisquam neque genus quaestus pensi habebat: per latrocinia et raptus aut servilibus ministeriis militare otium redimebant. tum locupletissimus quisque miles labore ac saevitia fatigari, donec vacationem emeret. ubi sumptibus exhaustus socordia insuper elanguerat, inops pro locuplete et iners pro strenuo in manipulum redibat; ac rursus alius atque alius eadem egestate ac licentia corrupti ad seditiones et discordias et ad extremum bella civilia ruebant. sed Otho, ne volgi largitione centurionum animos averteret, fiscum suum vacationes annuas exsoluturum promisit, rem haud dubie utilem et a bonis postea principibus perpetuitate disciplinae firmatam. Laco praefectus, tanquam in insulam seponeretur, ab evocato, quem ad caedem eius Otho praemiserat, confossus; in Marcianum Icelum ut in libertum palam animadversum.

47 XLVII. Exacto per scelera die novissimum malorum fuit laetitia. vocat senatum praetor urbanus; certant adulationibus ceteri magistratus. adcurrunt patres; decernitur Othoni tribunicia potestas et nomen Augusti et omnes principum honores, adnitentibus cunctis abolere convicia ac probra, quae promisce iacta haesisse animo eius nemo sensit: omisisset offensas an distulisset, brevitate imperii in incerto fuit. Otho cruento adhuc foro per stragem iacentium in Capitolium atque inde in Palatium vectus concedi corpora sepulturae cremarique permisit. Pisonem Verania uxor ac frater Scribonianus, Titum Vinium Crispina filia composuere, quaesitis redemptisque capitibus,

He is formally accepted by the Senate.

48 quae venalia interfectores servaverant. XLVIII. Pisō unum et tricesimum aetatis annum explebat, fama meliore quam fortuna. fratres eius Magnum Claudius, Crassum Nero interfecerant: ipse diu exul, quadriduo Caesar, properata adoptione ad hoc tantum maiori fratri praelatus est, ut prior occideretur. Titus Vinius quinquaginta septem annos variis moribus egit. pater illi praetoria familia, maternus avus e proscriptis. prima militia infamis legatum Calvisium Sabinum habuerat, cuius uxor mala cupidine visendi situm castrorum per noctem militari habitu ingressa, cum vigilias et cetera militiae munia eadem lascivia temerasset, in ipsis principiis stuprum ausa; et criminis huius reus Titus Vinius arguebatur. igitur iussu G. Caesaris oneratus catenis, mox mutatione temporum dimissus, cursu honorum inoffenso legioni post praeturam prae-

Character of Vinius

positus probatusque, servili deinceps probro respersus est, tanquam scyphum aureum in convivio Claudii furatus; et Claudius postera die soli omnium Vinio fictilibus ministrari iussit. sed Vinius proconsulatu Galliam Narbonensem severe integreque rexit, mox Galbae amicitia in abruptum tractus, audax callidus promptus et, prout animum intendisset, pravus aut industrius eadem vi. testamentum Titi Vini magnitudine opum inritum, Pisonis supremam voluntatem paupertas firmavit.

49 XLIX. Galbae corpus diu neglectum et licentia tenebrarum plurimis ludibriis vexatum dispensator Argius, e prioribus servis, humili sepultura in privatis eius hortis contexit. caput per lixas calonesque suffixum laceratumque *and of Galba.* ante Patrobii tumulum (libertus is Neronis punitus a Galba fuerat) postera demum die repertum et cremato iam corpori admixtum est. hunc exitum habuit Servius Galba, tribus et septuaginta annis quinque principes prospera fortuna emensus et alieno imperio felicior quam suo. vetus in familia nobilitas, magnae opes: ipsi medium ingenium, magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus. famae nec incuriosus nec venditator; pecuniae alienae non appetens, suae parcus, publicae avarus. amicorum libertorumque, ubi in bonos incidisset, sine reprehensione patiens, si mali forent, usque ad culpam ignarus. sed claritas natalium et metus temporum obtentui, ut quod segnitia erat sapientia vocaretur. dum vigebat aetas, militari laude apud Germanias floruit. pro consule Africam moderate, iam senior citeriorem Hispaniam pari iustitia continuit, maior privato visus, dum pri-

vatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.

General dismay is felt at the prospect of war between Otho and Vitellius.

50 L. Trepidam urbem ac simul atrocitatem recentis sceleris simul veteres Othonis mores paventem novus insuper de Vitellio nuntius exterruit ante caedem Galbae suppressus, ut tantum superioris Germaniae exercitum descivisse crederetur. tum duos omnium mortalium inpudicitia ignavia luxuria deterrimos velut ad perdendum imperium fataliter electos non senatus modo et eques, quis aliqua pars et cura rei publicae, sed volgus quoque palam maerere. nec iam recentia saevae pacis exempla, sed repetita bellorum civilium memoria captam totiens suis exercitibus urbem, vastitatem Italiae, direptiones provinciarum, Pharsaliam Philippos et Perusiam ac Mutinam, nota publicarum cladium nomina, loquebantur. prope eversum orbem, etiam cum de principatu inter bonos certaretur; sed mansisse G. Iulio, mansisse Caesare Augusto victore imperium; mansuram fuisse sub Pompeio Brutoque rem publicam. nunc pro Othone an pro Vitellio in templa ituros? utrasque impias preces, utraque detestanda vota inter duos, quorum bello solum id scires, deteriorem fore qui vicisset. erant qui Vespasianum et arma Orientis augurarentur, et ut potior utroque Vespasianus, ita bellum aliud atque alias clades horrebant. et ambigua de Vespasiano fama solusque omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est.

51 LI. Nunc initia causasque motus Vitelliani expediam. caeso cum omnibus copiis Iulio Vindice

ferox praeda gloriaque exercitus, ut cui sine labore ac periculo ditissimi belli victoria evenisset, expeditionem et aciem, praemia quam stipendia malebat. diu infructuosam et asperam militiam toleraverant ingenio loci caelique et severitate disciplinae, quam in pace inexorabilem discordiae civium resolvunt, paratis utrimque corruptoribus et perfidia inpunita. viri arma equi ad usum et ad decus supererant. sed ante bellum centurias tantum suas turmasque noverant; exercitus finibus provinciarum discernebantur. tum adversus Vindicem contractae legiones seque et Gallias expertae quaerere rursus arma novasque discordias; nec socios, ut olim, sed hostes et victos vocabant. nec deerat pars Galliarum, quae Rhenum accolit, easdem partes secuta ac tum acerrima instigatrix adversum Galbianos: hoc enim nomen fastidito Vindice indiderant. igitur Sequanis Aeduisque ac deinde, prout opulentia civitatibus erat, infensi expugnationes urbium, populationes agrorum, raptus penatium hauserunt animo, super avaritiam et arrogantiam, praecipua validiorum vitia, contumacia Gallorum inritati, qui remissam sibi a Galba quartam tributorum partem et publice donatos in ignominiam exercitus iactabant. accessit callide volgatum, temere creditum decumari legiones et promptissimum quemque centurionum dimitti. undique atroces nuntii, sinistra ex urbe fama; infensa Lugdunensis colonia et pertinaci pro Nerone fide fecunda rumoribus. sed plurima ad fingendum credendumque materies in ipsis castris odio metu et, ubi vires

After Vindex' fall the armies of the Rhine become discontented.

52 suas respexerant, securitate.

Vitellius ingratiates himself with them,

LII. Sub ipsas superioris anni kalendas Decembres Aulus Vitellius inferiorem Germaniam ingressus hiberna legionum cum cura adierat. redditi plerisque ordines, remissa ignominia, adlevatae notae; plura ambitione, quaedam iudicio, in quibus sordes et avaritiam Fontei Capitonis adimendis adsignandisve militiae ordinibus integre mutaverat. nec consularis legati mensura, sed in maius omnia accipiebantur. et *ut* Vitellius apud severos humilis, ita comitatem bonitatemque faventes vocabant, quod sine modo, sine iudicio donaret sua, largiretur aliena; simul aviditate ei parendi ipsa vitia pro virtutibus interpretabantur. multi in utroque exercitu sicut modesti quietique, ita mali et strenui. sed profusa cupidine et insigni temeritate legati legionum Alienus Caecina et Fabius Valens; e quibus Valens infensus Galbae, tanquam detectam a se Verginii cunctationem, oppressa Capitonis consilia ingrate tulisset, instigare Vitellium ardorem militum ostentans: ipsum celebri ubique fama, nullam in Flacco Hordeonio moram; adfore Britanniam, secutura Germanorum auxilia; male fidas provincias, precarium seni imperium et brevi transiturum. panderet modo sinum et venienti Fortunae occurreret. merito dubitasse Verginium equestri familia, ignoto patre, inparem, si recepisset imperium, tutum, si recusasset. Vitellio tres patris consulatus, censuram, collegium Caesaris et inponere iam pridem imperatoris dignationem et auferre privati securita-

and is encouraged to assume the purple by Valens and Caecina.

tem. LIII. Quatiebatur his segne ingenium, ut con- **53**
cupisceret magis quam ut speraret. at in superiore Germania Caecina decorus iuventa, corpore ingens, animi inmodicus, scito sermone, erecto incessu studia militum inlexerat. hunc iuvenem Galba, quaestorem in Baetica inpigre in partes suas transgressum, legioni praeposuit; mox compertum publicam pecuniam avertisse ut peculatorem flagitari iussit. Caecina aegre passus miscere cuncta et privata volnera republicae malis operire statuit. nec deerant in exercitu semina discordiae, quod et bello adversus Vindicem universus adfuerat nec nisi occiso Nerone translatus in Galbam atque in eo ipso sacramento vexillis inferioris Germaniae praeventus erat. et Treveri ac Lingones, quasque alias civitates atrocibus edictis aut damno finium Galba perculerat, hibernis legionum propius miscentur; unde seditiosa colloquia et inter paganos corruptior miles, et in Verginium favor cuicumque alii profuturus. LIV. Miserat **54**
civitas Lingonum vetere instituto dona legionibus dextras, hospitii insigne. legati eorum in squalorem maestitiamque compositi per principia per contubernia modo suas iniurias modo vicinarum civitatium praemia et, ubi pronis militum auribus accipiebantur, ipsius exercitus pericula et contumelias conquerentes accendebant animos. nec procul seditione aberant, cum Hordeonius Flaccus abire legatos, utque occultior digressus esset, nocte castris excedere iubet. inde atrox rumor, adfirmantibus plerisque interfectos ac, nisi ipsi consulerent, fore ut acerrimi militum

The army of Upper Germany renounces its allegiance to Galba.

et praesentia conquesti per tenebras et inscitiam ceterorum occiderentur. obstringuntur inter se tacito foedere legiones; adsciscitur auxiliorum miles, primo suspectus, tanquam circumdatis cohortibus alisque impetus in legiones pararetur, mox eadem acrius volvens, faciliore inter malos consensu ad bellum quam in pace ad concordiam.

55 LV. Inferioris tamen Germaniae legiones sollemni kalendarum Ianuariarum sacramento pro Galba adactae, multa cunctatione et raris primorum ordinum vocibus, ceteri silentio proximi cuiusque audaciam expectantes, insita mortalibus natura propere sequi quae piget inchoare. sed ipsis legionibus inerat diversitas animorum. primani quintanique turbidi adeo, ut quidam saxa in Galbae imagines iecerint: quinta decuma ac sexta decuma legiones nihil ultra fremitum et minas ausae initium erumpendi circumspectabant. at in superiore exercitu quarta ac duoetvicensima legiones isdem hibernis tendentes ipso kalendarum Ianuariarum die dirumpunt imagines Galbae, quarta legio promptius, duoetvicensima cunctanter, mox consensu. ac ne reverentiam imperii exuere viderentur, senatus populique Romani obliterata iam nomina sacramento advocabant, nullo legatorum tribunorumve pro Galba nitente, quibusdam, ut in tumultu, notabilius turbantibus. non tamen quisquam in modum contionis aut suggestu locutus: neque enim erat adhuc cui inputaretur.

56 LVI. Spectator flagitii Hordeonius Flaccus consularis legatus aderat, non compescere ruentes, non retinere dubios, non cohortari bonos ausus, sed

segnis pavidus et socordia innocens. quattuor centuriones duoetvicensimae legionis, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, Calpurnius Repentinus, cum protegerent Galbae imagines, impetu militum abrepti vinctique. nec cuiquam ultra fides aut memoria prioris sacramenti, sed quod in seditionibus accidit, unde plures erant, omnes fuere.

On the news of the mutiny, the army of the Lower Rhine elects Vitellius emperor.

Nocte quae kalendas Ianuarias secuta est in coloniam Agrippinensem aquilifer quartae legionis epulanti Vitellio nuntiat quartam et duoetvicensimam legiones proiectis Galbae imaginibus in senatus ac populi Romani verba iurasse. id sacramentum inane visum: occupari nutantem fortunam et offerri principem placuit. missi a Vitellio ad legiones legatosque, qui descivisse a Galba superiorem exercitum nuntiarent: proinde aut bellandum adversus desciscentes aut, si concordia et pax placeat, faciendum imperatorem; et minore discrimine sumi principem quam quaeri. LVII. Proxima legionis primae hiberna erant 57
et promptissimus e legatis Fabius Valens. is die proximo coloniam Agrippinensem cum equitibus legionis auxiliariorumque ingressus imperatorem Vitellium consalutavit. secutae ingenti certamine eiusdem provinciae legiones; et superior exercitus speciosis senatus populique Romani nominibus relictis tertium nonas Ianuarias Vitellio accessit: scires illum priore biduo non penes rem publicam fuisse. ardorem exercituum Agrippinenses Treviri Lingones aequabant auxilia equos arma pecuniam offerentes, ut quisque corpore opibus ingenio validus. nec prin-

cipes modo coloniarum aut castrorum, quibus praesentia ex affluenti et parta victoria magnae spes, sed manipuli quoque et gregarius miles viatica sua et balteos phalerasque, insignia armorum argento decora, loco pecuniae tradebant instinctu et impetu et avaritia.

Vitellius removes possible enemies from the army.

58 LVIII. Igitur laudata militum alacritate Vitellius ministeria principatus per libertos agi solita in equites Romanos disponit; vacationes centurionibus ex fisco numerat; saevitiam militum plerosque ad poenam exposcentium saepius adprobat, raro simulatione vinculorum frustratur. Pompeius Propinquus procurator Belgicae statim interfectus; Iulium Burdonem Germanicae classis praefectum astu subtraxit. Exarserat in eum iracundia exercitus, tanquam crimen ac mox insidias Fonteio Capitoni struxisset. grata erat memoria Capitonis; et apud saevientes occidere palam, ignoscere non nisi fallendo licebat. ita in custodia habitus et post victoriam demum stratis iam militum odiis dimissus est. interim ut piaculum obicitur centurio Crispinus; sanguine Capitonis *se* cruentaverat eoque et postulantibus mani-
59 festior et punienti vilior fuit. LIX. Iulius deinde Civilis periculo exemptus, praepotens inter Batavos, ne supplicio eius ferox gens alienaretur. et erant in civitate Lingonum octo Batavorum cohortes, quartae decimae legionis auxilia, tum discordia temporum a legione digressae, prout inclinassent, grande momentum sociae aut adversae. Nonium, Donatium, Romilium, Calpurnium centuriones, de quibus supra

rettulimus, occidi iussit, damnatos fidei crimine, gravissimo inter desciscentes. accessere partibus Valerius Asiaticus Belgicae provinciae legatus, quem mox Vitellius generum adscivit, et Iunius Blaesus Lugdunensis Galliae rector cum Italica legione et ala Tauriana Lugduni tendentibus. nec in Raeticis copiis mora, quo minus statim adiungerentur. ne in Britannia quidem dubitatum.

The commander of the army in Britain quarrels with the governor.

60 LX. Praeerat Trebellius Maximus per avaritiam ac sordes contemptus exercitui invisusque. accendebat odium eius Roscius Caelius legatus vicensimae legionis, olim discors, sed occasione civilium armorum atrocius proruperat. Trebellius seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinae Caelio, spoliatas et inopes legiones Caelius Trebellio obiectabat, cum interim foedis legatorum certaminibus modestia exercitus corrupta eoque discordiae ventum, ut auxiliarium quoque militum conviciis proturbatus et adgregantibus se Caelio cohortibus alisque desertus Trebellius ad Vitellium perfugerit. quies provinciae quanquam remoto consulari mansit: rexere legati legionum, pares iure, Caelius audendo potentior.

His troops join Vitellius.

Vitellius' army sets out for Italy in two divisions,

61 LXI. Adiuncto Britannico exercitu ingens viribus opibusque Vitellius duos duces, duo itinera bello destinavit. Fabius Valens allicere vel, si abnuerent, vastare Gallias et Cottianis Alpibus Italiam inrumpere, Caecina propiore transitu Poeninis iugis degredi iussus. Valenti inferioris exercitus electi cum aquila quintae legionis et cohortibus alisque

ad quadraginta milia armatorum data; triginta milia Caecina e superiore Germania ducebat, quorum robur legio unaetvicensima fuit. addita utrique Germanorum auxilia, e quibus Vitellius suas quoque copias supplevit, tota mole belli secuturus.

62 LXII. Mira inter exercitum imperatoremque diversitas. instare miles, arma poscere, dum Galliae trepident, dum Hispaniae cunctentur: non obstare hiemem neque ignavae pacis moras; invadendam Italiam, occupandam urbem; nihil in discordiis civilibus festinatione tutius, ubi facto magis quam consulto opus esset. torpebat Vitellius et fortunam principatus inerti luxu ac prodigis epulis praesumebat, medio diei temulentus et sagina gravis, cum tamen ardor et vis militum ultro ducis munia implebat, ut si adesset imperator et strenuis vel ignavis spem metumve adderet. instructi intentique signum profectionis exposcunt. nomen Germanici Vitellio statim additum: Caesarem se appellari etiam victor prohibuit. laetum augurium Fabio Valenti exercituique, quem in bellum agebat, ipso profectionis die aquila leni meatu, prout agmen incederet, velut dux viae praevolavit; longumque per spatium is gaudentium militum clamor, ea quies interritae alitis fuit, ut haud dubium magnae et prosperae rei omen acciperetur.

amidst great enthusiasm.

63 LXIII. Et Treviros quidem, ut socios, securi adiere. Divoduri (Mediomatricorum id oppidum est) quanquam omni comitate exceptos subitus pavor terruit, raptis repente armis ad caedem innoxiae civitatis, non ob praedam aut spoliandi cupi-

They inspire alarm in Gaul.

dine, set furore et rabie et causis incertis eoque difficilioribus remediis, donec precibus ducis mitigati ab excidio civitatis temperavere: caesa tamen ad quattuor milia hominum. isque terror Gallias invasit, ut venienti mox agmini universae civitates cum magistratibus et precibus occurrerent, stratis per vias feminis puerisque, quaeque alia placamenta hostilis irae non quidem in bello sed pro pace tendebantur.

LXIV. Nuntium de caede Galbae et imperio Othonis **64**
Fabius Valens in civitate Leucorum accepit. nec militum animus in gaudium aut formidine permotus: bellum volvebat. Gallis cunctatio exempta et in Othonem ac Vitellium odium par, ex Vitellio et metus. proxima Lingonum civitas erat fida partibus. benigne excepti modestia certavere. sed brevis laetitia fuit cohortium intemperie, quas a legione quarta decima, ut supra memoravimus, digressas exercitui suo Fabius Valens adiunxerat, iurgia primum, mox rixa inter Batavos et legionarios, dum his aut illis studia militum adgregantur, prope in praelium exarsere, ni Valens animadversione paucorum oblitos iam Batavos imperii admonuisset. frustra adversus Aeduos quaesita belli causa: iussi pecuniam atque arma deferre gratuitos insuper commeatus praebuere. quod Aedui formidine, Lugdunenses gaudio fecere. sed legio Italica et ala Tauriana abductae: cohortem duodevicesimam Lugduni, solitis sibi hibernis, relinqui placuit. Manlius Valens legatus Italicae legionis, quanquam bene de partibus meritus, nullo apud Vitellium honore fuit: secretis eum criminationibus infamaverat Fabius ignarum et, quo incautior deciperetur, palam laudatum.

The Lyonnese solicit the aid of the army against Vienne.

65 LXV. Veterem inter Lugdunenses *et Viennenses* discordiam proximum bellum accenderat. multae in vicem clades, crebrius infestiusque quam ut tantum propter Neronem Galbamque pugnaretur. et Galba reditus Lugdunensium occasione irae in fiscum verterat; multus contra in Viennenses honor. unde aemulatio et invidia et uno amne discretis conexum odium. igitur Lugdunenses extimulare singulos militum et in eversionem Viennensium impellere, obsessam ab illis coloniam suam, adiutos Vindicis conatus, conscriptas nuper legiones in praesidium Galbae referendo. et ubi causas odiorum praetenderant, magnitudinem praedae ostendebant. nec iam secreta exhortatio, sed publicae preces: irent ultores, excinderent sedem Gallici belli. cuncta illic externa et hostilia: se coloniam Romanam et partem exercitus et prosperarum adversarumque rerum socios. si fortuna
66 contra daret, iratis ne relinquerentur. LXVI. His et pluribus in eundem modum perpulerant, ut ne legati quidem ac duces partium restingui posse iracundiam exercitus arbitrarentur, cum haud ignari discriminis sui Viennenses velamenta et infulas praeferentes, ubi agmen incesserat, arma genua vestigia prensando flexere militum animos. addidit Valens trecenos singulis militibus sestertios. tum vetustas dignitasque coloniae valuit et verba Fabi salutem incolumitatemque Viennensium commendantis aequis auribus accepta. publice tamen armis multati privatis et promiscuis copiis iuvere militem. sed fama constans fuit ipsum Valentem magna pecunia emptum.

is diu sordidus, repente dives mutationem fortunae male tegebat, accensis egestate longa cupidinibus inmoderatus et inopi iuventa senex prodigus. lento deinde agmine per fines Allobrogum ac Vocontiorum ductus exercitus, ipsa itinerum spatia et stativorum mutationes venditante duce, foedis pactionibus adversus possessores agrorum et magistratus civitatum, adeo minaciter, ut Luco (municipium id Vocontiorum est) faces admoverit, donec pecunia mitigaretur. quotiens pecuniae materia deesset, stupris et adulteriis exorabatur. sic ad Alpes perventum.

LXVII. Plus praedae ac sanguinis per Caecinam 67
haustum. inritaverant turbidum ingenium Helvetii, Gallica gens, olim armis virisque, mox memoria nominis clara, de caede Galbae ignari et Vitellii inperium abnuentes. initium bello fuit avaritia ac festinatio unaetvicensimae legionis. rapuerant pecuniam missam in stipendium castelli, quod olim Helvetii suis militibus ac stipendiis tuebantur. aegre id passi Helvetii, interceptis epistulis, quae nomine Germanici exercitus ad Pannonicas legiones ferebantur, centurionem et quosdam militum in custodia retinebant. Caecina belli avidus proximam quamque culpam, antequam paeniteret, ultum ibat. mota propere castra, vastati agri, direptus longa pace in modum municipii extructus locus, amoeno salubrium aquarum usu frequens. missi ad Raetica auxilia nuntii, ut versos in legionem Helvetios a tergo adgrederentur. LXVIII. Illi ante 68
discrimen feroces, in periculo pavidi, quanquam primo tumultu Claudium Severum ducem legerant, non

Caecina encounters some resistance among the Helvetii,

arma noscere, non ordines sequi, non in unum consulere. exitiosum adversus veteranos proelium, intuta obsidio dilapsis vetustate moenibus. hinc Caecina cum valido exercitu, inde Raeticae alae cohortesque et ipsorum Raetorum iuventus sueta armis et more militiae exercita. undique populatio et caedes. ipsi medio vagi abiectis armis, magna pars saucii aut palantes, in montem Vocetium perfugere. ac statim inmissa cohorte Thracum depulsi et consectantibus Germanis Raetisque per silvas atque in ipsis latebris trucidati. multa hominum milia caesa, multa sub corona venundata. cumque dirutis omnibus Aventicum gentis caput iusto agmine peteretur, missi qui dederent civitatem; et deditio accepta. in Iulium Alpinum e principibus ut concitorem belli Caecina animadvertit: ceteros veniae vel saevitiae Vitellii

which he easily overcomes.

69 reliquit. LXIX. Haud facile dictu est, legati Helvetiorum minus placabilem imperatorem an militem invenerint. civitatis excidium poscunt, tela ac manus in ora legatorum intentant. ne Vitellius quidem verbis et minis temperabat, cum Claudius Cossus, unus ex legatis, notae facundiae, sed dicendi artem apta trepidatione occultans atque eo validior, militis animum mitigavit, ut est mos vulgo, mutabilem subitis et tam pronum in misericordiam quam inmodicus saevitia fuerat: effusis lacrimis et meliora constantius postulando impunitatem salutemque civi-

70 tati impetravere. LXX. Caecina paucos in Helvetiis moratus dies, dum sententiae Vitellii certior fieret, simul transitum Alpium parans, laetum ex Italia nuntium accipit alam Silianam circa Padum

agentem sacramento Vitellii accessisse. pro consule Vitellium Siliani in Africa habuerant; mox a Nerone, ut in Aegyptum praemitterentur, exciti et ob bellum Vindicis revocati ac tum in Italia manentes instinctu decurionum, qui Othonis ignari, Vitellio obstricti robur adventantium legionum et famam Germanici exercitus attollebant, transiere in partes et ut donum aliquod novo principi firmissima Transpadanae regionis municipia Mediolanum ac Novariam et Eporediam et Vercellas adiunxere. id Caecinae per ipsos compertum. et quia praesidio alae unius latissima Italiae pars defendi nequibat, praemissis Gallorum Lusitanorumque et Britannorum cohortibus et Germanorum vexillis cum ala Petriana, ipse paulum cunctatus est, num Raeticis iugis in Noricum flecteret adversus Petronium Urbicum procuratorem, qui concitis auxiliis et interruptis fluminum pontibus fidus Othoni putabatur. sed metu, ne amitteret praemissas iam cohortes alasque, simul reputans plus gloriae retenta Italia, et ubicumque certatum foret, Noricos in certa victoriae praemia cessuros, Poenino itinere subsignanum militem et grave legionum agmen hibernis adhuc Alpibus transduxit.

He sends on an advanced guard to occupy Northern Italy

71 LXXI. Otho interim contra spem omnium non deliciis neque desidia torpescere: dilatae voluptates, dissimulata luxuria et cuncta ad decorem imperii composita; eoque plus formidinis afferebant falsae virtutes et vitia reditura. Marium Celsum consulem designatem, per speciem vinculorum saevitiae militum subtractum, acciri in Capito-

At Rome, Otho pardons Celsus,

lium iubet. clementiae titulus e viro claro et partibus inviso petebatur. Celsus constanter servatae erga Galbam fidei crimen confessus exemplum ultro imputavit. nec Otho quasi ignosceret, sed, ne hostem metueret, consiliatorem adhibens statim inter intimos amicos habuit et mox bello inter duces delegit. mansitque Celso velut fataliter etiam pro Othone fides integra et infelix. laeta primoribus civitatis, celebrata in vulgus Celsi salus ne militibus quidem ingrata fuit, eandem virtutem admirantibus, cui
72 irascebantur. LXXII. Par inde exultatio disparibus causis consecuta impetrato Tigellini exitio. Sophonius Tigellinus obscuris parentibus, foeda pueritia, impudica senecta, praefecturam vigilum et praetorii et alia praemia virtutum, quia velocius erat, vitiis adeptus, crudelitatem mox, deinde avaritiam, virilia scelera, exercuit, corrupto ad omne facinus Nerone, quaedam ignaro ausus ac postremo eiusdem desertor ac proditor. unde non alium pertinacius ad poenam flagitaverunt, diverso affectu, quibus odium Neronis inerat et quibus desiderium. apud Galbam Titi Vinii potentia defensus praetexentis servatam ab eo filiam. haud dubie servaverat non clementia, quippe tot interfectis, sed effugium in futurum, quia pessimus quisque diffidentia praesentium mutationem pavens adversus publicum odium privatam gratiam praeparat; unde nulla innocentiae cura, sed vices impunitatis. eo infensior populus, addita ad vetus Tigellini odium recenti Titi Vinii invidia, concurrere ex tota urbe in Palatium ac fora, et ubi plurima vulgi licentia, in circum ac theatra

and puts Tigellinus to death,

effusi seditiosis vocibus strepere, donec Tigellinus accepto apud Sinuessanas aquas supremae necessitatis nuntio inter stupra concubinarum et oscula et deformes moras sectis novacula faucibus infamem vitam foedavit etiam exitu sero et inhonesto. LXXIII. Per 73
idem tempus expostulata ad supplicium Calvia Crispinilla variis frustrationibus et adversa dissimulantis principis fama periculo exempta est. magistra libidinum Neronis, transgressa in Africam ad instigandum in arma Clodium Macrum famem populo Romano haud obscure molita, totius postea civitatis gratiam obtinuit, consulari matrimonio subnixa et apud Galbam Othonem Vitellium illaesa, mox potens pecunia et orbitate, quae bonis malisque temporibus iuxta valent.

though he protects Crispinilla.

LXXIV. Crebrae interim et muliebribus blandi- 74
mentis infectae ab Othone ad Vitellium epistulae offerebant pecuniam et gratiam et quemcumque quietis locum prodigae vitae legisset. paria Vitellius ostentabat, primo mollius, stulta utrimque et indecora simulatione: mox quasi rixantes stupra et flagitia in vicem obiectavere, neuter falso. Otho, revocatis quos Galba miserat legatis, rursus ad utrumque Germanicum exercitum et ad legionem Italicam easque quae Lugduni agebant copias specie senatus misit. legati apud Vitellium remansere, promptius quam ut retenti viderentur. praetoriani, quos per simulationem officii legatis Otho adiunxerat, remissi, antequam legionibus miscerentur. addidit epistulas Fabius Valens nomine Germanici exercitus ad praetorias et urbanas cohortes de viribus

The rival emperors negotiate with and plot against each other.

partium magnificas et concordiam offerentes; increpabat ultro, quod tanto ante traditum Vitellio im-
75 perium ad Othonem vertissent. LXXV. Ita promissis simul ac minis temptabantur, ut bello impares, in pace nihil amissuri; neque ideo praetorianorum fides mutata. sed insidiatores ab Othone in Germaniam, a Vitellio in urbem missi. utrisque frustra fuit, Vitellianis impune, per tantam hominum multitudinem mutua ignorantia fallentibus: Othoniani novitate vultus, omnibus in vicem gnaris, prodebantur. Vitellius litteras ad Titianum fratrem Othonis conposuit, exitium ipsi filioque eius minitans, ni incolumes sibi mater ac liberi servarentur. et stetit domus utraque, sub Othone incertum an metu: Vitellius victor clementiae
76 gloriam tulit. LXXVI. Primus Othoni fiduciam addidit ex Illyrico nuntius iurasse in eum Dalmatiae ac Pannoniae et Moesiae legiones. idem ex Hispania adlatum laudatusque per edictum Cluvius Rufus, set

The armies of Illyricum and the East support Otho.

statim cognitum est conversam ad Vitellium Hispaniam. ne Aquitania quidem, quanquam ab Iulio Cordo in verba Othonis obstricta, diu mansit. nusquam fides aut amor: metu ac necessitate huc illuc mutabantur. eadem formido provinciam Narbonensem ad Vitellium vertit, facili transitu ad proximos et validiores. longinquae provinciae et quicquid armorum mari dirimitur penes Othonem manebat, non partium studio, sed erat grande momentum in nomine urbis ac praetexto senatus et occupaverat animos prior auditus. Iudaicum exercitum Vespasianus, Syriae legiones Mucianus sacramento Othonis adegere; simul Aegyptus omnesque versae

in Orientem provinciae nomine eius tenebantur. idem Africae obsequium, initio Carthagine orto: neque expectata Vipstani Aproniani proconsulis auctoritate Crescens Neronis libertus (nam et hi malis temporibus partem se rei publicae faciunt) epulum plebi ob laetitiam recentis imperii obtulerat, et populus pleraque sine modo festinavit. Carthaginem ceterae civitates secutae.

LXXVII. Sic distractis exercitibus ac provinciis 77
Vitellio quidem ad capessendam principatus fortunam bello opus erat, Otho ut in multa pace munia imperii obibat, quaedam ex dignitate rei publicae, pleraque contra decus ex praesenti usu properando. *Otho nominates consuls for the year,* consul cum Titiano fratre in kalendas Martias ipse; proximos menses Verginio destinat ut aliquod exercitui Germanico delenimentum. iungitur Verginio Pompeius Vopiscus praetexto veteris amicitiae; plerique Viennensium honori datum interpretabantur. ceteri consulatus ex destinatione Neronis aut Galbae mansere, Caelio ac Flavio Sabinis in Iulias, Arrio Antonino et Mario Celso in Septembres; quorum honori ne Vitellius quidem victor intercessit. sed Otho pontificatus auguratusque honoratis iam senibus cumulum dignitatis addidit aut recens ab exilio reversos nobiles adulescentulos avitis ac paternis sacerdotiis in solacium recoluit. Redditus Cadio Rufo, Pedio Blaeso, Saevino Pontio senatorius locus. repetundarum criminibus sub Claudio ac Nerone ceciderant: placuit ignoscentibus verso nomine, quod avaritia fuerat, videri maiestatem, cuius tum odio etiam bonae leges peribant.
LXXVIII. Eadem largi- 78

and confers privileges on certain communities.

tione civitatium quoque ac provinciarum animos adgressus Hispalensibus et Emeritensibus familiarum adiectiones, Lingonibus universis civitatem Romanam, provinciae Baeticae Maurorum civitates dono dedit; nova iura Cappadociae, nova Africae, ostentui magis quam mansura. inter quae necessitate praesentium rerum et instantibus curis excusata ne tum quidem immemor amorum statuas Poppaeae per senatus consultum reposuit. creditus est etiam de celebranda Neronis memoria agitavisse spe volgum alliciendi. et fuere qui imagines Neronis proponerent; atque etiam Othoni quibusdam diebus populus et miles, tanquam nobilitatem ac decus adstruerent, Neroni Othoni acclamavit. ipse in suspenso tenuit vetandi metu vel agnoscendi pudore.

The Rhoxolani invade Moesia, but are annihilated by the legions.

79 LXXIX. Conversis ad civile bellum animis externa sine cura habebantur. eo audentius Rhoxolani, Sarmatica gens, priore hieme caesis duabus cohortibus, magna spe Moesiam inruperant, ad novem milia equitum, ex ferocia et successu praedae magis quam pugnae intenta. igitur vagos et incuriosos tertia legio adiunctis auxiliis repente invasit. apud Romanos omnia proelio apta: Sarmatae dispersi aut cupidine praedae graves onere sarcinarum et lubrico itinerum adempta equorum pernicitate velut vincti caedebantur. namque mirum dictu, ut sit omnis Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipsos. nihil ad pedestrem pugnam tam ignavum: ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies obstiterit. sed tum umido die et soluto gelu neque conti neque gladii, quos praelongos utraque manu regunt, usui, lapsanti-

bus equis et catafractarum pondere. id principibus et nobilissimo cuique tegimen, ferreis lamminis aut praeduro corio consertum, ut adversus ictus inpenetrabile, ita impetu hostium provolutis inhabile ad resurgendum. simul altitudine et mollitia nivis hauriebantur. Romanus miles facilis lorica et missili pilo aut lanceis adsultans, ubi res posceret, levi gladio inermem Sarmatam (neque enim scuto defendi mos est) comminus fodiebat, donec pauci, qui proelio superfuerant, paludibus abderentur. ibi saevitia hiemis ac volnerum absumpti. postquam id Romae compertum, M. Aponius Moesiam obtinens triumphali statua, Fulvus Aurelius et Iulianus Tettius ac Numisius Lupus legati legionum consularibus ornamentis donantur, laeto Othone et gloriam in se trahente, tanquam et ipse felix bello et suis ducibus suisque exercitibus rem publicam auxisset.

LXXX. Parvo interim initio, unde nihil timebatur, **80** orta seditio prope urbi excidio fuit. septumam decumam cohortem e colonia Ostiensi in urbem acciri Otho iusserat; armandae eius cura Vario Crispino tribuno e praetorianis data. is quo magis vacuus quietis castris iussa exequeretur, vehicula cohortis incipiente nocte onerari aperto armamentario iubet. tempus in suspicionem, causa in crimen, affectatio quietis in tumultum evaluit; et visa inter temulentos arma cupidinem sui movere. fremit miles et tribunos centurionesque proditionis arguit, tanquam familiae senatorum ad perniciem Othonis armarentur, pars ignari et vino graves, pessimus quisque in occasionem praedarum,

Some of the troops at Rome, conceiving Otho's life to be in danger,

volgus, ut mos est, cuiuscumque motus novi cupidum; et obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat. resistentem seditioni tribunum et severissimos centurionum obtruncant, rapta arma, nudati gladii, insidentes equis
81 urbem ac Palatium petunt. LXXXI. Erat Othoni celebre convivium primoribus feminis virisque; qui trepidi, fortuitusne militum furor an dolus imperatoris, manere ac deprehendi an fugere et dispergi periculosius foret, modo constantiam simulare, modo formidine detegi, simul Othonis voltum intueri: utque evenit inclinatis ad suspicionem mentibus, cum timeret Otho, timebatur.

break into the palace,

sed haud secus discrimine senatus quam suo territus et praefectos praetorii ad mitigandas militum iras statim miserat et abire propere omnes e convivio iussit. tum vero passim magistratus proiectis insignibus, vitata comitum et servorum frequentia, senes feminaeque per tenebras diversa urbis itinera, rari domos, plurimi amicorum tecta et, ut cuique humilli-
82 mus cliens, incertas latebras petivere. LXXXII. Militum impetus ne foribus quidem Palatii coercitus, quo minus convivium inrumperent, ostendi sibi Othonem expostulantes, volnerato Iulio Martiale tribuno et Vitellio Saturnino praefecto legionis, dum ruentibus obsistunt. undique arma et minae, modo in centuriones tribunosque, modo in senatum universum, lymphatis caeco pavore animis,

and are calmed with difficulty.

et quia neminem unum destinare irae poterant, licentiam in omnes poscentibus, donec Otho contra decus imperii toro insistens precibus et lacrimis aegre cohibuit, redieruntque in castra inviti neque inno-

centes. postera die velut capta urbe clausae domus, rarus per vias populus, maesta plebs; deiecti in terram militum voltus ac plus tristitiae quam paenitentiae. manipulatim adlocuti sunt Licinius Proculus et Plotius Firmus praefecti, ex suo quisque ingenio mitius aut horridius. finis sermonis in eo, ut quina milia nummum singulis militibus numerarentur. tum Otho ingredi castra ausus. atque illum tribuni centurionesque circumsistunt, abiectis militiae insignibus otium et salutem flagitantes. sensit invidiam miles et compositus in obsequium auctores seditionis ad supplicium ultro postulabat. LXXXIII. Otho, **83**
quanquam turbidis rebus et diversis militum animis, cum optimus quisque remedium praesentis licentiae posceret, volgus et plures seditionibus et ambitioso imperio laeti per turbas et raptus facilius ad civile bellum inpellerentur, simul reputans non posse principatum scelere quaesitum subita modestia et prisca gravitate retineri, sed discrimine urbis et periculo senatus anxius, postremo ita disseruit:

Otho addresses them—

"neque ut affectus vestros in amorem mei accenderem, commilitones, neque ut animum ad virtutem cohortarer (utraque enim egregie supersunt), sed veni postulaturus a vobis temperamentum vestrae fortitudinis et erga me modum caritatis.

"The soldier must obey orders without asking for a reason.

tumultus proximi initium non cupiditate vel odio, quae multos exercitus in discordiam egere, ac ne detrectatione quidem aut formidine periculorum: nimia pietas vestra acrius quam consideratius excitavit. nam saepe honestas rerum causas, ni iudicium adhibeas, perniciosi exitus conse-

cuntur. imus ad bellum. num omnes nuntios palam audiri, omnia consilia cunctis praesentibus tractari ratio rerum aut occasionum velocitas patitur? tam nescire quaedam milites quam scire oportet. ita se ducum auctoritas, sic rigor disciplinae habet, ut multa etiam centuriones tribunosque tantum iuberi expediat. si, cur iubeantur, quaerere singulis liceat, pereunte obsequio etiam imperium intercidit. an et illic nocte intempesta rapientur arma? unus alterve perditus ac temulentus (neque enim plures consternatione proxima insanisse crediderim) centurionis ac tribuni sanguine manus imbuet, imperatoris sui tentorium inrumpet?

84 LXXXIV. Vos quidem istud pro me: sed in discursu ac tenebris et rerum omnium confusione patefieri occasio etiam adversus me potest. si Vitellio et satellitibus eius eligendi facultas detur, quem nobis animum, quas mentes inprecentur, quid aliud quam seditionem et discordiam optabunt? ne miles centurioni, ne centurio tribuno obsequatur, hinc confusi pedites equitesque in exitium ruamus. parendo potius, commilitones, quam imperia ducum sciscitando res militares continentur; et fortissimus in ipso discrimine exercitus est, qui ante discrimen quietissimus. vobis arma et animus sit: mihi consilium et virtutis vestrae regimen relinquite. paucorum culpa fuit, duorum poena erit: ceteri abolete memoriam foedissimae noctis. nec illas adversus senatum voces ullus usquam exercitus audiat. caput imperii et decora omnium provinciarum ad poenam vocare non hercule illi, quos cum maxime Vitellius in nos ciet, Germani audeant: ulline Italiae alumni et

Never forget the reverence you owe to the city and the senate."

Romana vere iuventus ad sanguinem et caedem depoposcerit ordinem, cuius splendore et gloria sordes et obscuritatem Vitellianarum partium praestringimus? nationes aliquas occupavit Vitellius, imaginem quandam exercitus habet: senatus nobiscum est. sic fit ut hinc res publica, inde hostes rei publicae constiterint. quid? vos pulcherrimam hanc urbem domibus et tectis et congestu lapidum stare creditis? muta ista et inanima intercidere ac reparari promisca sunt: aeternitas rerum et pax gentium et mea cum vestra salus incolumitate senatus firmatur. hunc auspicato a parente et conditore urbis nostrae institutum et a regibus usque ad principes continuum et inmortalem, sicut a maioribus accepimus, sic posteris tradamus. nam ut ex vobis senatores, ita ex senatoribus principes nascuntur." LXXXV. Et oratio apta ad **85**
perstringendos mulcendosque militum animos et severitatis modus (neque enim in plures quam in duos animadverti iusserat) grate accepta, compositique ad praesens qui coerceri non poterant. non tamen quies urbi redierat: strepitus telorum et facies belli, militibus ut nihil in commune turbantibus, ita sparsis per domos occulto habitu et maligna cura in omnes, quos nobilitas aut opes aut aliqua insignis claritudo rumoribus obiecerat. Vitellianos quoque milites venisse in urbem ad studia partium noscenda plerique credebant. unde plena omnia suspicionum et vix secreta domuum sine formidine. sed plurimum trepidationis in publico, ut quemque nuntium fama adtulisset, animum voltumque conversis, ne diffidere dubiis ac parum gaudere pro-

The soldiers inspire much alarm in the city.

speris viderentur. coacto vero in curiam senatu arduus rerum omnium modus, ne contumax silentium, ne suspecta libertas; et privato Othoni nuper atque eadem dicenti nota adulatio. igitur versare sententias et huc atque illuc torquere, hostem et parricidam Vitellium vocantes, providentissimus quisque vulgaribus conviciis, quidam vera probra iacere, in clamore tamen et ubi plurimae voces, aut tumultu verborum
86 sibi ipsi obstrepentes. LXXXVI. Prodigia insuper terrebant diversis auctoribus volgata: in vestibulo Capitolii omissas habenas bigae, cui Victoria institerat; erupisse cella Iunonis maiorem humana speciem; statuam divi Iulii in insula Tiberini amnis sereno et immoto die ab Occidente in Orientem conversam; prolocutum in Etruria bovem, insolitos animalium partus et plura alia rudibus saeculis etiam in pace observata, quae nunc tantum in metu audiuntur. sed praecipuus cum praesenti exitio etiam futuri pavor subita inundatione Tiberis, qui immenso auctu, proruto ponte sublicio ac strage obstantis molis refusus, non modo iacentia et plana urbis loca, sed secura eiusmodi casuum implevit. rapti e publico plerique, plures in tabernis et cubilibus intercepti. fames in volgus inopia quaestus et penuria alimentorum. corrupta stagnantibus aquis insularum fundamenta, dein remeante flumine dilapsa. utque primum vacuus a periculo animus fuit, id ipsum quod paranti expeditionem Othoni campus Martius et via Flaminia iter belli esset obstructum, a fortuitis vel naturalibus causis in prodigium et omen imminentium cladium vertebatur.

Various portents are announced,

and the Tiber overflows its banks.

LXXXVII. Otho lustrata urbe et expensis belli 87 consiliis, quando Poeninae Cottiaeque Alpes et ceteri Galliarum aditus Vitellianis exercitibus claudebantur, Narbonensem Galliam aggredi statuit, classe valida et partibus fida, quod reliquos caesorum ad pontem Mulvium et saevitia Galbae in custodia habitos in numeros legionis composuerat, facta et ceteris spe honoratioris in posterum militiae. addidit classi urbanas cohortes et plerosque e praetorianis, vires et robur exercitus atque ipsis ducibus consilium et custodes. summa expeditionis Antonio Novello, Suedio Clementi primipilaribus, Aemilio Pacensi, cui ademptum a Galba tribunatum reddiderat, permissa. curam navium Moschus libertus retinebat ad observandam honestiorum fidem immutatus. peditum equitumque copiis Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, Annius Gallus rectores destinati. sed plurima fides Licinio Proculo praetorii praefecto. is urbanae militiae impiger, bellorum insolens, auctoritatem Paulini, vigorem Celsi, maturitatem Galli, ut cuique erat, criminando, quod facillimum factu est, pravus et callidus bonos et modestos anteibat.

Otho makes preparations for marching against Vitellius,

LXXXVIII. Sepositus per eos 88 dies Cornelius Dolabella in coloniam Aquinatem, neque arta custodia neque obscura, nullum ob crimen, sed vetusto nomine et propinquitate Galbae monstratus. multos e magistratibus, magnam consularium partem Otho non participes aut ministros bello, sed comitum specie secum expedire iubet; in quis et Lucium Vitellium, eodem quo ceteros cultu, nec ut imperatoris fratrem nec ut

with a retinue of nobles.

hostis. igitur motae urbis curae; nullus ordo metu aut periculo vacuus. primores senatus aetate invalidi et longa pace desides, segnis et oblita bellorum nobilitas, ignarus militiae eques, quanto magis occultare et abdere pavorem nitebantur, manifestius pavidi. nec deerant e contrario qui ambitione stolida conspicua arma, insignes equos, quidam luxuriosos apparatus conviviorum et irritamenta libidinum ut instrumenta belli mercarentur. sapientibus quietis et rei publicae cura; levissimus quisque et futuri improvidus spe vana tumens; multi afflicta fide in pace usi turbatis rebus alacres et per incerta tutissimi.

Rome begins to feel the long unknown evils of war.

89 LXXXIX. Sed vulgus et magnitudine nimia communium curarum expers populus sentire paulatim belli mala, conversa in militum usum omni pecunia, intentis alimentorum pretiis; quae motu Vindicis haud perinde plebem attriverant, secura tum urbe et provinciali bello, quod inter legiones Galliasque velut externum fuit. nam ex quo divus Augustus res Caesarum composuit, procul et in unius sollicitudinem aut decus populus Romanus bellaverat; sub Tiberio et Gaio tantum pacis adversa *ad* rem publicam pertinuere; Scriboniana contra Claudium incepta simul audita et coercita; Nero nuntiis magis et rumoribus quam armis depulsus. tum legiones classesque et, quod raro alias, praetorianus urbanusque miles in aciem deducti; Oriens Occidensque et quicquid utrimque virium est a tergo: si ducibus aliis bellatum foret, longo bello materia. fuere qui proficiscenti Othoni moras religionemque nondum conditorum ancilium

afferrent: aspernatus est omnem cunctationem ut Neroni quoque exitiosam; et Caecina iam Alpes transgressus extimulabat.

90

Otho attempts to compensate persons exiled by Nero.

XC. Pridie idus Martias commendata patribus re publica reliquias Neronianarum sectionum nondum in fiscum conversas revocatis ab exilio concessit, iustissimum donum et in speciem magnificum, sed festinata iam pridem exactione usu sterile. mox vocata contione maiestatem urbis et consensum populi ac senatus pro se attollens adversum Vitellianas partes modeste disseruit, inscitiam potius legionum quam audaciam increpans, nulla Vitellii mentione, sive ipsius ea moderatio, seu scriptor orationis sibi metuens contumeliis in Vitellium abstinuit, quando, ut in consiliis militiae Suetonio Paulino et Mario Celso, ita in rebus urbanis Galeri Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur; et erant qui genus ipsum orandi noscerent, crebro fori usu celebre et ad implendas populi aures latum et sonans. clamor vocesque vulgi ex more adulandi nimiae et falsae: quasi dictatorem Caesarem aut imperatorem Augustum prosequerentur, ita studiis votisque certabant, nec metu aut amore, sed ex libidine servitii: ut in familiis, privata cuique stimulatio et vile iam decus publicum.

He leaves the city.

profectus Otho quietem urbis curasque imperii Salvio Titiano fratri permisit.

HISTORIARUM

LIBER II.

Titus is sent from Judaea on a mission to Rome.

I. Struebat iam fortuna in diversa parte terrarum initia causasque imperio, quod varia sorte laetum rei publicae aut atrox, ipsis principibus prosperum vel exitio fuit. Titus Vespasianus e Iudaea incolumi adhuc Galba missus a patre causam profectionis officium erga principem et maturam petendis honoribus iuventam ferebat, sed vulgus fingendi avidum disperserat accitum in adoptionem. materia sermonibus senium et orbitas principis et intemperantia civitatis, donec unus eligatur, multos destinandi. augebat famam ipsius Titi ingenium quantaecumque fortunae capax, decor oris cum quadam maiestate, prosperae Vespasiani res, praesaga responsa et inclinatis ad credendum animis loco ominum etiam fortuita. ubi Corinthi, Achaiae urbe, certos nuntios accepit de interitu Galbae et aderant qui arma Vitellii bellumque affirmarent, anxius animo paucis amicorum adhibitis cuncta utrimque perlustrat. si pergeret in urbem, nullam officii gratiam in alterius honorem suscepti ac se Vitellio sive Othoni obsidem fore: sin rediret, offensam haud dubiam victoris, set incerta adhuc victoria et concedente in partes patre

filium excusatum. sin Vespasianus rem publicam
susciperet, obliviscendum offensarum de bello agitanti-
bus. II. His ac talibus inter spem metumque iacta- 2
tum spes vicit. fuerunt qui accensum
desiderio Berenices reginae vertisse iter
crederent; neque abhorrebat a Berenice
iuvenilis animus, sed gerendis rebus nullum ex eo im-
pedimentum. laetam voluptatibus adolescentiam egit,
suo quam patris imperio moderatior. igitur oram
Achaiae et Asiae ac laeva maris praevectus Rhodum
et Cyprum insulas, inde Syriam audentioribus spatiis
petebat. atque illum cupido incessit adeundi visendi-
que templum Paphiae Veneris inclitum per indigenas
advenasque. haud fuerit longum initia
religionis, templi ritum, formam deae
(neque enim alibi sic habetur) paucis
disserere. III. Conditorem templi regem Aeriam 3
vetus memoria, quidam ipsius deae nomen id perhi-
bent. fama recentior tradit a Cinyra sacratum tem-
plum deamque ipsam conceptam mari huc adpulsam,
sed scientiam artemque haruspicum accitam et Cili-
cem Tamiram intulisse atque ita pactum, ut familiae
utriusque posteri caerimoniis praesiderent. mox, ne
honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem ante-
celleret, ipsa quam intulerant scientia hospites cessere:
tantum Cinyrades sacerdos consulitur. hostiae, ut
quisque vovit, set mares deliguntur: certissima fides
haedorum fibris. sanguinem arae obfundere vetitum:
precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis im-
bribus, quanquam in aperto, madescunt. simulacrum
deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio

but turns back on the news of Galba's fall,

and visits on his way Cyprus and the shrine of Aphrodite.

tenuem in ambitum metae modo exsurgens; et ratio
4 in obscuro. IV. Titus spectata opulentia donisque regum, quaeque alia laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae vetustati adfingit, de navigatione primum consuluit. postquam pandi viam et mare prosperum accepit, de se per ambages interrogat caesis compluribus hostiis. Sostratus (sacerdotis id nomen erat) ubi laeta et congruentia exta magnisque consultis adnuere deam videt, pauca in praesens et solita respondens petito secreto futura aperit. Titus aucto animo ad patrem pervectus suspensis provinciarum et exercituum mentibus ingens rerum fiducia accessit.

Profligaverat bellum Iudaicum Vespasianus obpugnatione Hierosolymorum reliqua, duro magis et arduo opere ob ingenium montis et pervicaciam superstitionis, quam quo satis virium obsessis ad tolerandas necessitates superesset. tres, ut supra memoravimus, ipsi Vespasiano legiones erant, exercitae bello; quattuor Mucianus obtinebat in pace, sed aemulatio et proximi exercitus gloria depulerat segnitiam, quantumque illis roboris discrimina et labor, tantum his vigoris addiderat integra quies et inexperti belli dolor. auxilia utrique cohortium alarumque et classes reges-
5 que ac nomen dispari fama celebre. V. Vespasianus

Vespasian and Mucian

acer militiae anteire agmen, locum castris capere, noctu diuque consilio ac, si res posceret, manu hostibus obniti, cibo fortuito, veste habituque vix a gregario milite discrepans; prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par. Mucianum e contrario magnificentia et opes et cuncta privatum modum supergressa extollebant; aptior sermone, dis

positu provisuque civilium rerum peritus: egregium principatus temperamentum, si demptis utriusque vitiis solae virtutes miscerentur. ceterum hic Syriae, ille Iudaeae praepositus, vicinis provinciarum administrationibus invidia discordes, exitu demum Neronis positis odiis in medium consuluere, primum per amicos, dein praecipua concordiae fides Titus prava certamina communi utilitate aboleverat, natura atque arte compositus alliciendis etiam Muciani moribus. tribuni centurionesque et volgus militum industria licentia, per virtutes per voluptates, ut cuique ingenium, adsciscebantur.

6 VI. Antequam Titus adventaret, sacramentum Othonis acceperat uterque exercitus, praecipitibus, ut adsolet, nuntiis et tarda mole civilis belli, quod longa concordia quietus Oriens tunc primum parabat. namque olim validissima inter se civium arma in Italia Galliave viribus Occidentis coepta; et Pompeio, Cassio, Bruto, Antonio, quos omnes trans mare secutum est civile bellum, haud prosperi exitus fuerant; auditique saepius in Syria Iudaeaque Caesares quam inspecti. nulla seditio legionum; tantum adversus Parthos minae, vario eventu. et proximo civili bello turbatis aliis inconcussa ibi pax; dein fides erga Galbam. mox, ut Othonem ac Vitellium scelestis armis res Romanas raptum ire volgatum est, ne penes ceteros imperii praemia, penes ipsos tantum servitii necessitas esset, fremere miles et vires suas circumspicere. septem legiones statim et cum ingentibus auxiliis Syria Iudaeaque; inde continua Aegyptus duaeque legiones, hinc Cappadocia Pontusque et quicquid

muster their forces for a possible war.

castrorum Armeniis praetenditur; Asia et ceterae provinciae nec virorum inopes et pecuniae opulentae; quantum insularum mari cingitur, et parando interim
7 bello secundum tutumque ipsum mare. VII. Non fallebat duces impetus militum, sed bellantibus aliis placuit expectari. bellum ruere in victores victosque, numquam solida fide coalescere; nec referre, Vitellium an Othonem superstitem fortuna faceret. rebus secundis etiam egregios duces insolescere: discordiam his, ignaviam, luxuriem; et suismet vitiis alterum bello, alterum victoria periturum. igitur arma in occasionem distulere, Vespasianus Mucianusque nuper, ceteri olim mixtis consiliis; optimus quisque amore rei publicae, multos dulcedo praedarum stimulabat, alios ambiguae domi res. ita boni malique causis diversis, studio pari bellum omnes cupiebant.

8 VIII. Sub idem tempus Achaia atque Asia falso exterritae, velut Nero adventaret, vario super exitu eius rumore eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque.

A pseudo Nero appears in the Levant;

ceterorum casus conatusque in contextu operis dicemus: tunc servus e Ponto sive, ut alii tradidere, libertinus ex Italia citharae et cantus peritus, unde illi super similitudinem oris propior ad fallendum fides, adiunctis desertoribus, quos inopia vagos ingentibus promissis corruperat, mare ingreditur; ac vi tempestatum Cythnum insulam detrusus et militum quosdam ex Oriente commeantium adscivit vel abnuentes interfici iussit et spoliatis negotiatoribus mancipiorum valentissimum quemque armavit. centurionemque Sisennam dextras, concordiae insignia,

Syriaci exercitus nomine ad praetorianos ferentem variis artibus adgressus est, donec Sisenna clam relicta insula trepidus et vim metuens aufugeret. inde late terror; multi ad celebritatem nominis erecti rerum novarum cupidine et odio praesentium. gliscentem in dies famam fors discussit. IX. Galatiam ac Pam- **9**
phyliam provincias Calpurnio Asprenati regendas Galba permiserat. datae e classe Misenensi duae triremes ad prosequendum, cum quibus Cythnum insulam tenuit; nec defuere qui trierarchos nomine Neronis accirent. is in maestitiam compositus et fidem suorum quondam militum invocans, ut eum in Syria aut Aegypto sisterent, orabat. trierarchi nutantes seu dolo adloquendos sibi milites et paratis omnium animis reversuros firmaverunt. sed Asprenati cuncta ex fide nuntiata; cuius cohortatione expugnata navis et interfectus quisquis ille erat. corpus insigne oculis comaque et torvitate vultus in Asiam atque inde Romam pervectum est.

but is put to death at Cythnus.

X. In civitate discordi et ob crebras principum **10**
mutationes inter libertatem ac licentiam incerta parvae quoque res magnis motibus agebantur. Vibius Crispus, pecunia potentia ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos, Annium Faustum equestris ordinis, qui temporibus Neronis delationes factitaverat, ad cognitionem senatus vocabat. nam recens Galbae principatu censuerant patres, ut accusatorum causae noscerentur. id senatus consultum varie iactatum et, prout potens vel inops reus inciderat, infirmum aut validum retinebat adhuc terrores. et propria vi Cris-

At Rome, Faustus is tried and condemned to death for 'delatio.'

pus incubuerat delatorem fratris sui pervertere traxeratque magnam senatus partem, ut indefensum et inauditum dedi ad exitium postularent. contra apud alios nihil aeque reo proderat quam nimia potentia accusatoris: dari tempus, edi crimina, quamvis invisum ac nocentem more tamen audiendum censebant. et valuere primo dilataque in paucos dies cognitio; mox damnatus est Faustus, nequaquam eo assensu civitatis, quem pessimis moribus meruerat: quippe ipsum Crispum easdem accusationes cum praemio exercuisse meminerant, nec poena criminis sed ultor displicebat.

Otho marches to the Padus.

11 XI. Laeta interim Othoni principia belli, motis ad imperium eius e Dalmatia Pannoniaque exercitibus. fuere quattuor legiones, e quibus bina milia praemissa; ipsae modicis intervallis sequebantur, septima a Galba conscripta, veteranae undecima ac tertia decima et praecipui fama quartadecumani rebellione Britanniae conpressa. addiderat gloriam Nero eligendo ut potissimos, unde longa illis erga Neronem fides et erecta in Othonem studia. sed quo plus virium ac roboris, e fiducia tarditas inerat. agmen legionum alae cohortesque praeveniebant. et ex ipsa urbe haud spernenda manus, quinque praetoriae cohortes et equitum vexilla cum legione prima, ac deforme insuper auxilium, duo milia gladiatorum, sed per civilia arma etiam severis ducibus usurpatum. his copiis rector additus Annius Gallus cum Vestricio Spurinna ad occupandas Padi ripas praemissus, quoniam prima consiliorum frustra ceciderant, transgresso iam Alpes Caecina, quem

sisti intra Gallias posse speraverat. ipsum Othonem comitabantur speculatorum lecta corpora cum ceteris praetoriis cohortibus, veterani e praetorio, classicorum ingens numerus. nec illi segne aut corruptum luxu iter, sed lorica ferrea usus est et ante signa pedes ire, horridus incomptus famaeque dissimilis. XII. 12
blandiebatur coeptis fortuna, possessa per mare et naves maiore Italiae parte penitus usque ad initium maritimarum Alpium, quibus temptandis adgrediendaeque provinciae Narbonensi Suedium Clementem, Antonium Novellum, Aemilium Pacensem duces dederat. sed Pacensis per licentiam militum vinctus, Antonio Novello nulla auctoritas, Suedius Clemens ambitioso imperio regebat, ut adversus modestiam disciplinae corruptus, ita proeliorum avidus. non Italia adiri nec loca sedesque patriae videbantur: tanquam externa litora et urbes hostium urere vastare rapere, eo atrocius, quod nihil usquam provisum adversum metus. pleni agri, apertae domus; occursantes domini iuxta coniuges et liberos securitate pacis et belli malo circumveniebantur. maritimas tum Alpes tenebat procurator Marius Maturus. is concita gente (nec deest iuventus) arcere provinciae finibus Othonianos intendit, sed primo impetu caesi disiectique montani, ut quibus temere collectis, non castra, non ducem noscitantibus neque in victoria decus esset neque in fuga flagitium. XIII. 13
Irritatus eo proelio Othonis miles vertit iras in municipium Albintimilium. quippe in acie nihil praedae, inopes agrestes et vilia arma; nec capi poterant, pernix genus et gnari locorum;

Some of his forces occupy and devastate the province of the Maritime Alps.

sed calamitatibus insontium expleta avaritia. auxit invidiam praeclaro exemplo femina Ligus, quae filio abdito, cum simul pecuniam occultari milites credidissent eoque per cruciatus interrogarent, ubi filium occuleret, uterum ostendens latere respondit, nec ullis deinde terroribus aut morte constantiam vocis
14 egregiae mutavit. XIV. Imminere provinciae Narbonensi in verba Vitellii adactae classem Othonis trepidi nuntii Fabio Valenti attulere; aderant legati coloniarum auxilium orantes. duas Tungrorum cohortes, quattuor equitum turmas, universam Trevirorum alam cum Iulio Classico praefecto misit, e quibus pars in colonia Foroiuliensi retenta, ne omnibus copiis in terrestre iter versis vacuo mari classis adceleraret. duodecim equitum turmae et lecti e cohortibus adversus hostem iere, quibus adiuncta Ligurum cohors, vetus loci auxilium, et quingenti Pannonii nondum sub signis. nec mora proelio, sed acies ita instructa, ut pars classicorum mixtis paganis in colles mari propinquos exurgeret, quantum inter colles ac litus aequi loci praetorianus miles expleret, in ipso mari ut adnexa classis et pugnae parata conversa et minaci fronte praetenderetur: Vitelliani, quibus minor peditum vis, in equite robur, Alpinos proximis iugis, cohortes densis ordinibus post equitem locant. Trevirorum turmae obtulere se hosti incaute, cum exciperet contra veteranus miles, simul a latere saxis urgeret apta ad iaciendum etiam paganorum manus, qui sparsi inter milites, strenui ignavique, in victoria idem audebant. additus perculsis terror invecta in

They there encounter and defeat the Vitellians.

terga pugnantium classe. ita undique clausi deletaeque omnes copiae forent, ni victorem exercitum attinuisset obscurum noctis, obtentui fugientibus. XV. 15
nec Vitelliani quanquam victi quievere: accitis auxiliis securum hostem ac successu rerum socordius agentem invadunt. caesi vigiles, perrupta castra, trepidatum apud navis, donec sidente paulatim metu, occupato iuxta colle defensi, mox irrupere. atrox ibi caedes et Tungrarum cohortium praefecti sustentata diu acie telis obruuntur. ne Othonianis quidem incruenta victoria fuit, quorum inprovide secutos conversi equites circumvenerunt. ac velut pactis indutiis, ne hinc classis inde eques subitam formidinem inferrent, Vitelliani retro Antipolim Narbonensis Galliae municipium, Othoniani Albigaunum interioris Liguriae revertere.

XVI. Corsicam ac Sardiniam ceterasque proximi 16
maris insulas fama victricis classis in partibus Othonis tenuit. sed Corsicam prope adflixit Decumi Pacarii procuratoris temeritas, tanta mole belli nihil in summam profutura, ipsi exitiosa. namque Othonis odio iuvare Vitellium Corsorum viribus statuit, inani auxilio, etiam si provenisset. vocatis principibus insulae consilium aperit et contra dicere ausos, Claudium Pyrrhicum trierarchum Liburnicarum ibi navium, Quintium Certum equitem Romanum, interfici iubet. quorum morte exterriti qui aderant, simul ignara et alieni metus socia imperitorum turba, in verba Vitellii iuravere. sed ubi dilectum agere Pacarius et inconditos homines fatigare militiae muneribus occepit, laborem insolitum perosi infirmitatem suam reputabant: insulam esse

Pacarius attempts unsuccessfully to engage Corsica in the war.

quam incolerent et longe Germaniam viresque legionum, direptos vastatosque classe etiam quos cohortes alaeque protegerent. et aversi repente animi, nec tamen aperta vi: aptum tempus insidiis legere. digressis qui Pacarium frequentabant, nudus et auxilii inops balineis interficitur; trucidati et comites. capita ut hostium ipsi interfectores ad Othonem tulere; neque eos aut Otho praemio affecit aut puniit Vitellius, in multa conluvie rerum maioribus flagitiis permixtos.

Caecina's advanced guard occupies Lombardy.

17 XVII. Aperuerat iam Italiam bellumque transmiserat, ut supra memoravimus, ala Siliana, nullo apud quemquam Othonis favore, nec quia Vitellium mallent, sed longa pax ad omne servitium fregerat faciles occupantibus et melioribus incuriosos. florentissimum Italiae latus, quantum inter Padum Alpesque camporum et urbium, armiis Vitelli (namque et praemissae a Caecina cohortes advenerant) tenebatur. capta Pannoniorum cohors apud Cremonam; intercepti centum equites ac mille classici inter Placentiam Ticinumque. quo successu Vitellianus miles non iam flumine aut ripis arcebatur: inritabat quin etiam Batavos Transrhenanosque Padus ipse; quem repente contra Placentiam transgressi raptis quibusdam exploratoribus ita ceteros terruere, ut adesse omnem Caecinae exercitum
18 trepidi ac falsi nuntiarent. XVIII. Certum erat Spurinnae (is enim Placentiam optinebat) necdum venisse Caecinam et, si propinquaret, coercere intra munimenta militem nec tris praetorias cohortes et mille vexillarios cum paucis equitibus veterano exercitui

Placentia is threatened

obicere. sed indomitus miles et belli ignarus correptis signis vexillisque ruere et retinenti duci tela intentare spretis centurionibus tribunisque: quin prodi Othonem ac accitum Caecinam clamitabant. fit temeritatis alienae comes Spurinna, primo coactus, mox velle simulans, quo plus auctoritatis inesset consiliis, si seditio mitesceret.

XIX. Postquam *non iam* in conspectu Padus et nox 19 appetebat, vallari castra placuit. is labor urbano militi insolitus contundit animos. tum vetustissimus quisque castigare credulitatem suam, metum ac discrimen ostendere, si cum exercitu Caecina patentibus campis tam paucas cohortes circumfudisset. iamque totis castris modesti sermones, et inserentibus se centurionibus tribunisque laudari providentia ducis, quod coloniam virium et opum validam robur ac sedem bello legisset. ipse postremo Spurinna non tam culpam exprobrans quam rationem ostendens relictis exploratoribus ceteros Placentiam reduxit minus turbidos et imperia accipientes. solidati muri, propugnacula addita, auctae turres, provisa parataque non arma modo sed obsequium et parendi amor, quod solum illis partibus defuit, cum virtutis haud paeniteret.

XX. At Caecina velut relicta post Alpes saevitia 20 ac licentia modesto agmine per Italiam incessit. ornatum ipsius municipia et coloniae in superbiam trahebant, quod versicolori sagulo, bracas, barbarum tegimen, indutus, togatos alloqueretur. uxorem autem eius Saloninam, quanquam in nullius iniuriam insigni equo ostroque veheretur, tanquam laesi gravabantur,

insita mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem acribus oculis introspicere modumque fortunae a nullis magis exigere quam quos in aequo viderunt. Caecina Padum transgressus, temptata Othonianorum fide per conloquium et promissa, isdem petitus, postquam pax et concordia speciosis et inritis nominibus iactata sunt, consilia curasque in oppugnationem Placentiae magno terrore vertit, gnarus, ut initia belli provenissent, famam

and besieged by Caecina in person.

21 in cetera fore. XXI. Sed primus dies impetu magis quam veterani exercitus artibus transactus: aperti incautique muros subiere, cibo vinoque praegraves. in eo certamine pulcherrimum amphitheatri opus situm extra muros conflagravit, sive ab oppugnatoribus incensum, dum faces et glandes et missilem ignem in obsessos iaculantur, sive ab obsessis, dum paria regerunt. municipale volgus pronum ad suspiciones fraude inlata ignis alimenta credidit a quibusdam e vicinis coloniis invidia et aemulatione, quod nulla in Italia moles tam capax foret. quocumque casu accidit, dum atrociora metuebantur, in levi habitum, reddita securitate, tanquam nihil gravius pati potuissent, maerebant. ceterum multo suorum cruore pulsus Caecina, et nox parandis operibus absumpta. Vitelliani pluteos cratesque et vineas subfodiendis muris protegendisque obpugnatoribus, Othoniani sudes et inmensas lapidum ac plumbi aerisque moles perfringendis *operibus* obruendisque hostibus expediunt. utrimque pudor, utrimque gloria et diversae exhortationes hinc legionum et Germanici exercitus robur, inde urbanae militiae et praetoriarum cohortium de-

cus attollentium; illi ut segnem et desidem et circo ac theatris corruptum militem, hi peregrinum et externum increpabant. simul Othonem ac Vitellium celebrantes culpantesve uberioribus inter se probris quam laudibus stimulabantur. **22** XXII. Vixdum orto die plena propugnatoribus moenia, fulgentes armis virisque campi; densum legionum agmen, sparsa auxiliorum manus altiora murorum sagittis aut saxis incessere, neglecta aut aevo fluxa comminus adgredi. ingerunt desuper Othoniani pila librato magis et certo ictu adversus temere subeuntes cohortes Germanorum cantu truci et more patrio nudis corporibus super umeros scuta quatientium. legionarius pluteis et cratibus tectus subruit muros, instruit aggerem, molitur portas: contra praetoriani dispositos ad id ipsum molares ingenti pondere ac fragore provolvunt. pars subeuntium obruti, pars confixi et exsangues aut laceri: cum augeret stragem trepidatio eoque acrius e moenibus volnerarentur, rediere infracta partium fama. et Caecina pudore coeptae temere obpugnationis, ne inrisus ac vanus isdem castris adsideret, traiecto rursus Pado Cremonam petere intendit. tradidere sese abeunti Turullius Cerialis cum conpluribus classicis et Iulius Briganticus cum paucis equitum, hic praefectus alae in Batavis genitus, ille primipilaris et Caecinae haud alienus, quod ordines in Germania duxerat.

The siege is raised.

23 XXIII. Spurinna comperto itinere hostium defensam Placentiam, quaeque acta et quid Caecina pararet, Annium Gallum per litteras docet. Gallus legionem primam in auxilium Placentiae ducebat, diffisus pauci-

tati cohortium, ne longius obsidium et vim Germanici exercitus parum tolerarent. ubi pulsum Caecinam pergere Cremonam accepit, aegre coercitam legionem et pugnandi ardore usque ad seditionem progressam Bedriaci sistit. inter Veronam Cremonamque situs est vicus, duabus iam Romanis cladibus notus infaustusque.

Otho's main army encamps at Bedriacum.

Isdem diebus a Marcio Macro haud procul Cremona prospere pugnatum. namque promptus animi Marcius transvectos navibus gladiatores in adversam Padi ripam repente effudit. turbata ibi Vitellianorum auxilia et ceteris Cremonam fugientibus caesi qui restiterant. sed repressus vincentium impetus, ne novis subsidiis firmati hostes fortunam proelii mutarent. suspectum id Othonianis fuit omnia ducum facta prave aestimantibus. certatim, ut quisque animo ignavus, procax ore, Annium Gallum et Suetonium Paulinum et Marium Celsum aliosque quos Otho praefecerat variis criminibus incessebant. acerrima seditionum ac discordiae incitamenta interfectores Galbae: scelere et metu vecordes miscere cuncta, modo palam turbidis vocibus, modo occultis ad Othonem litteris; qui humillimo cuique credulus, bonos metuens trepidabat, rebus prosperis incertus et inter adversa melior. igitur Titianum fratrem accitum bello praeposuit.

24 XXIV. Interea Paulini et Celsi ductu res egregie gestae. angebant Caecinam nequiquam omnia coepta et senescens exercitus sui fama. pulsus Placentia, caesis nuper auxiliis, etiam per concursum exploratorum, crebra

Otho's generals defeat Caecina near Cremona.

magis quam digna memoratu proelia, inferior, propinquante Fabio Valente, ne omne belli decus illuc concederet, reciperare gloriam avidius quam consultius properabat. ad duodecimum a Cremona (locus Castorum vocatur) ferocissimos auxiliarium imminentibus viae lucis occultos componit; equites procedere longius iussi et irritato proelio sponte refugi festinationem sequentium elicere, donec insidiae coorerentur. proditum id Othonianis ducibus, et curam peditum Paulinus, equitum Celsus sumpsere. tertiae decimae legionis vexillum, quattuor auxiliorum cohortes et quingenti equites in sinistro locantur; aggerem viae tres praetoriae cohortes altis ordinibus obtinuere; dextra fronte prima legio incessit cum duabus auxiliaribus cohortibus et quingentis equitibus: super hos e praetorio auxiliisque mille equites, cumulus prosperis aut subsidium laborantibus, ducebantur. XXV. Antequam miscerentur acies, terga vertentibus Vitellianis, Celsus doli prudens repressit suos: Vitelliani temere exsurgentes cedente sensim Celso longius secuti ultro in insidias praecipitantur. nam a lateribus cohortes, legionum adversa frons, et subito discursu terga cinxerant equites. signum pugnae non statim a Suetonio Paulino pediti datum: cunctator natura et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione quam prospera ex casu placerent, compleri fossas, aperiri campum, pandi aciem iubebat, satis cito incipi victoriam ratus, ubi provisum foret, ne vincerentur. ea cunctatione spatium Vitellianis datum in vineas nexu traducum impeditas refugiendi, et modica silva adhaerebat, unde rursus ausi promptissimos

praetorianorum equitum interfecere volneratur rex
26 Epiphanes inpigre pro Othone pugnam ciens. XXVI. Tum Othonianus pedes erupit. protrita hostium acie versi in fugam etiam qui subveniebant. nam Caecina non simul cohortes, sed singulas acciverat; quae res in proelio trepidationem auxit, cum dispersos nec usquam validos pavor fugientium abriperet. orta et in castris seditio, quod non universi ducerentur: vinctus praefectus castrorum Iulius Gratus, tanquam fratri apud Othonem militanti proditionem ageret, cum fratrem eius, Iulium Frontonem tribunum, Othoniani sub eodem crimine vinxissent. ceterum ea ubique formido fuit apud fugientes occursantes, in acie pro vallo, ut deleri cum universo exercitu Caecinam potuisse, ni Suetonius Paulinus receptui cecinisset, utrisque in partibus percrebruerit. timuisse se Paulinus ferebat tantum insuper laboris atque itineris, ne Vitellianus miles recens e castris fessos adgrederetur et perculsis nullum retro subsidium foret. apud paucos ea ducis ratio probata, in volgus adverso rumore fuit.

27 XXVII. Haud proinde id damnum Vitellianos in metum compulit quam ad modestiam composuit; nec solum apud Caecinam, qui culpam in militem conferebat seditioni magis quam proelio paratum: Fabii quoque Valentis copiae (iam enim Ticinum venerat) posito hostium contemptu et recuperandi decoris cupidine reverentius et aequalius duci parebant. gravis alioquin seditio exarserat, quam altiore initio (neque enim rerum a Caecina gestarum ordinem interrumpi

Valens attempts to dismiss his Batavian cohorts,

oportuerat) repetam. cohortes Batavorum, quas bello Neronis a quarta decima legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Vitellii motu in civitate Lingonum Fabio Valenti adiunctas rettulimus, superbe agebant, ut cuiusque legionis tentoria accessissent, coercitos a se quartadecimanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam atque omnem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam iactantes. contumeliosum id militibus, acerbum duci corrupta iurgiis aut rixis disciplina; ad postremum Valens e petulantia etiam perfidiam suspectabat. XXVIII. Igitur nuntio adlato pulsam Trevirorum 28 alam Tungrosque a classe Othonis et Narbonensem Galliam circumiri, simul cura socios tuendi et militari astu cohortes turbidas ac, si una forent, praevalidas dispergendi, partem Batavorum ire in subsidium iubet. quod ubi auditum volgatumque, maerere socii, fremere legiones. orbari se fortissimorum virorum auxilio; veteres illos et tot bellorum victores, postquam in conspectu sit hostis, velut ex acie abduci. si provincia urbe et salute imperii potior sit, omnes illuc sequerentur; sin victoriae columen in Italia verteretur, non abrumpendos ut corpori validissimos artus. XXIX. Haec halferociter iactando, postquam 29 inmissis lictoribus Valens coercere seditionem coeptabat, ipsum invadunt, saxa iaciunt, fugientem sequuntur. spolia Galliarum et Viennensium aurum, pretia laborum suorum, occultare clamitantes, direptis sarcinis tabernacula ducis ipsamque humum pilis et lanceis rimabantur. nam Valens servili veste apud decurionem equitum tegebatur. tum Alfenus Varus

and the troops mutiny in consequence.

praefectus castrorum deflagrante paulatim seditione addidit consilium, vetitis obire vigilias centurionibus, omisso tubae sono, quo miles ad belli munia cietur. igitur torpere cuncti, circumspectare inter se attoniti et id ipsum, quod nemo regeret, paventes: silentio patientia, postremo precibus ac lacrimis veniam quaerebant. ut vero deformis et flens et praeter spem incolumis Valens processit, gaudium miseratio favor: versi in laetitiam, ut est volgus utroque inmodicum, laudantes gratantesque circumdatum aquilis signisque in tribunal ferunt. ille utili moderatione non supplicium cuiusquam poposcit; ac ne dissimulans suspectior foret, paucos incusavit, gnarus civilibus bellis
30 plus militibus quam ducibus licere. XXX. Munientibus castra apud Ticinum de adversa Caecinae pugna adlatum et prope renovata seditio, tanquam fraude et cunctationibus Valentis proelio defuissent. nolle

Valens joins Caecina.

requiem, non expectare ducem, anteire signa, urguere signiferos: rapido agmine Caecinae iunguntur. inprospera Valentis fama apud exercitum Caecinae erat: expositos se tanto pauciores integris hostium viribus querebantur, simul in suam excusationem et adventantium robur per adulationem attollentes, ne ut victi et ignavi despectarentur. et quanquam plus virium, prope duplicatus legionum auxiliorumque numerus erat Valenti, studia tamen militum in Caecinam inclinabant, super benignitatem animi, qua promptior habebatur, etiam vigore aetatis, proceritate corporis et quodam inani favore. hinc aemulatio ducibus: Caecina ut foedum ac maculosum, ille ut tumidum ac vanum inridebant. sed condito

odio eandem utilitatem fovere, crebris epistulis sine respectu veniae probra Othoni obiectantes, cum duces partium Othonis quamvis uberrima conviciorum in Vitellium materia abstinerent. XXXI. Sane ante 31
utriusque exitum, quo egregiam Otho famam, Vitellius flagitiosissimam meruere, minus Vitellii ignavae voluptates quam Othonis flagrantissimae libidines timebantur. addiderat huic terrorem atque odium caedes Galbae: contra illi initium belli nemo inputabat. Vitellius ventre et gula sibi inhonestus, Otho luxu saevitia audacia rei publicae exitiosior ducebatur.

Coniunctis Caecinae ac Valentis copiis nulla ultra penes Vitellianos mora, quin totis viribus certarent: Otho consultavit, trahi bellum an fortunam experiri placeret. tunc Suetonius Paulinus dignum fama sua ratus, qua nemo illa tempestate militaris rei callidior habebatur, de toto genere belli censere, festinationem hostibus, moram ipsis utilem disseruit: XXXII. 32
exercitum Vitellii universum advenisse, nec multum virium a tergo, quoniam Galliae tumeant et deserere Rheni ripam inrupturis tam infestis nationibus non conducat. Britannicum militem hoste et mari distineri; Hispanias armis non ita redundare; provinciam Narbonensem incursu classis et adverso proelio contremuisse; clausam Alpibus et nullo maris subsidio transpadanam Italiam atque ipso transitu exercitus vastam; non frumentum usquam exercitui, nec exercitum sine copiis retineri posse. iam Germanos, quod genus militum apud hostis atrocissimum sit, tracto in aestatem bello fluxis corporibus mutationem soli

Paulinus advises a policy of delay,

caelique haud toleraturos. multa bella impetu valida per taedia et moras evanuisse. contra ipsis omnia opulenta et fida, Pannoniam Moesiam Delmatiam Orientem cum integris exercitibus, Italiam et caput rerum urbem senatumque et populum, numquam obscura nomina, etiam si aliquando obumbrentur; publicas privatasque opes et inmensam pecuniam inter civiles discordias ferro validiorem; corpora militum aut Italiae sueta aut aestibus. obiacere flumen Padum, tutas viris murisque urbes; e quibus nullam hosti cessuram Placentiae defensione exploratum. proinde duceret bellum. paucis diebus quartam decimam legionem, magna ipsam fama, cum Moesicis copiis adfore: tum rursus deliberaturum, et si proelium placuisset, auctis viribus

33 certaturos. XXXIII. Accedebat sententiae Paulini Marius Celsus; idem placere Annio Gallo paucos ante dies lapsu equi adflicto missi, qui consilium eius sciscitarentur, rettulerant.

but Otho decides to fight.

Otho pronus ad decertandum; frater eius Titianus et praefectus praetorii Proculus imperitia properantes fortunam et deos et numen Othonis adesse consiliis, adfore conatibus testabantur, neu quis obviam ire sententiae auderet, in adulationem concesserant. postquam pugnari placitum, interesse pugnae imperatorem an seponi melius foret dubitavere. Paulino et Celso iam non adversantibus, ne principem obiectare periculis viderentur, idem illi deterioris consilii auctores perpulere, ut

He himself goes to Brixellum.

Brixellum concederet ac dubiis proeliorum exemptus summae rerum et imperii se ipsum

reservaret. is primus dies Othonianas partes adflixit. namque et cum ipso praetoriarum cohortium et speculatorum equitumque valida manus discessit et remanentium fractus animus, quando suspecti duces, et Otho, cui uni apud militem fides, dum et ipse non nisi militibus credit, imperia ducum in incerto reliquerat.

XXXIV. Nihil eorum Vitellianos fallebat, crebris, 34
ut in civili bello, transfugiis: et exploratores cura diversa sciscitandi sua non occultabant. quieti intentique Caecina ac Valens, quando hostis inprudentia rueret, quod loco sapientiae est, alienam stultitiam opperiebantur, inchoato ponte transitum Padi simulantes adversus obpositam gladiatorum manum, ac ne ipsorum miles segne otium tereret. naves pari inter se spatio, validis utrimque trabibus conexae, adversum in flumen dirigebantur, iactis super ancoris, quae firmitatem pontis continerent; sed ancorarum funes non extenti fluitabant, ut augescente flumine inoffensus ordo navium attolleretur. claudebat pontem inposita turris et in extremam navem educta, unde tormentis ac machinis hostes propulsarentur. Othoniani in ripa turrim struxerant saxaque et faces iaculabantur.

Some of Otho's forces are defeated in an engagement on the Po.

XXXV. Et erat insulà amne medio, in quam gladia- 35
tores navibus molientes, Germani nando praelabebantur. ac forte plures transgressos completis Liburnicis per promptissimos gladiatorum Macer adgreditur, sed neque ea constantia gladiatoribus ad proelia, quae militibus, nec proinde nutantes e navibus quam stabili gradu e ripa volnera derigebant. et

cum variis trepidantium inclinationibus mixti remiges propugnatoresque turbarentur, desilire in vada ultro Germani, retentare puppes, scandere foros aut comminus mergere. quae cuncta in oculis utriusque exercitus quanto laetiora Vitellianis, tanto acrius Othoniani causam auctoremque cladis detestabantur.

36 XXXVI. Et proelium quidem abruptis quae supererant navibus fuga diremptum: Macer ad exitium poscebatur, iamque volneratum eminus lancea strictis gladiis invaserant, cum intercursu tribunorum centurionumque protegitur. nec multo post Vestricius Spurinna iussu Othonis relicto Placentiae modico praesidio cum cohortibus subvenit. dein Flavium Sabinum consulem designatum Otho rectorem copiis misit, quibus Macer praefuerat, laeto milite ad mutationem ducum et ducibus ob crebras seditiones tam infestam militiam aspernantibus.

37 XXXVII. Invenio apud quosdam auctores pavore belli seu fastidio utriusque principis, quorum flagitia ac dedecus apertiore in dies fama noscebantur, dubitasse exercitus, num posito certamine vel ipsi in medium consultarent vel senatui permitterent legere imperatorem, atque eo duces Othonianos spatium ac moras suasisse, praecipua spe Paulini, quod vetustissimus consularium et militia clarus gloriam nomenque Britannicis expeditionibus meruisset. ego ut concesserim apud paucos tacito voto quietem pro discordia, bonum et innocentem principem pro pessimis ac flagitiosissimis expetitum, ita neque Paulinum, qua prudentia fuit, sperasse corruptissimo saeculo tantam

It is not probable that the armies desired peace (as some writers allege)

volgi moderationem reor, ut qui pacem belli amore
turbaverant bellum pacis caritate deponerent, neque
aut exercitus linguis moribusque dissonos in hunc
consensum potuisse coalescere aut legatos ac duces,
magna ex parte luxus egestatis scelerum sibi conscios,
nisi pollutum obstrictumque meritis suis principem
passuros. XXXVIII. Vetus ac iam pridem insita **38**
mortalibus potentiae cupido cum imperii magnitudine
adolevit erupitque. nam rebus modicis aequalitas
facile habebatur: sed ubi subacto orbe et aemulis
urbibus regibusve excisis securas opes concupiscere
vacuum fuit, prima inter patres plebemque certamina
exarsere. modo turbulenti tribuni, modo
consules praevalidi, et in urbe ac foro
temptamenta civilium bellorum, mox e
plebe infima C. Marius et nobilium saevissimus
Lucius Sulla victam armis libertatem in domina-
tionem verterunt. post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior,
non melior, et numquam postea nisi de principatu
quaesitum. non discessere ab armis in Pharsalia ac
Philippis civium legiones, nedum Othonis ac Vitellii
exercitus sponte posituri bellum fuerint. eadem illos
deum ira, eadem hominum rabies, eaedem scelerum
causae in discordiam egere. quod singulis velut
ictibus transacta sunt bella, ignavia principum factum
est. sed me veterum novorumque morum reputatio
longius tulit: nunc ad rerum ordinem venio.

any more than did the contending parties in former civil wars.

XXXIX. Profecto Brixellum Othone honor imperii **39**
penes Titianum fratrem, vis ac potestas penes Procu-
lum praefectum; Celsus et Paulinus, cum prudentia
eorum nemo uteretur, inani nomine ducum alienae

culpae praetendebantur; tribuni centurionesque ambigui, quod spretis melioribus deterrimi valebant; miles alacer, qui tamen iussa ducum interpretari quam exequi mallet. promoveri ad quartum a Bedriaco castra placuit, adeo imperite, ut quanquam verno tempore anni et tot circum amnibus penuria aquae fatigarentur. ibi de proelio dubitatum, Othone per litteras flagitante ut maturarent, militibus ut imperator pugnae adesset poscentibus; plerique copias trans Padum agentes acciri postulabant. nec proinde diiudicari potest quid optimum factu fuerit, quam

Otho's army encamps 16 miles from Cremona,

40 pessimum fuisse quod factum est. XL. Non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum profecti confluentes Padi et Aduae fluminum sedecim inde milium spatio distantes petebant. Celso et Paulino abnuentibus militem itinere fessum, sarcinis gravem obicere hosti non omissuro, quo minus expeditus et vix quattuor milia passuum progressus aut incompositos in agmine aut dispersos et vallum molientes adgrederetur, Titianus et Proculus, ubi consiliis vincerentur, ad ius imperii transibant. aderat sane citus equo Numida cum atrocibus mandatis, quibus Otho increpita ducum segnitia rem in discrimen mitti iubebat, aeger mora et spei inpatiens.

intending thence to march W. past the town.

41 XLI. Eodem die ad Caecinam operi pontis intentum duo praetoriarum cohortium tribuni conloquium eius postulantes venerunt. audire condiciones ac reddere parabat, cum praecipites exploratores adesse hostem nuntiavere. interruptus tribunorum

sermo, eoque incertum fuit, insidias an proditionem vel aliquod honestum consilium coeptaverint. Caecina dimissis tribunis revectus in castra datum iussu Fabii Valentis pugnae signum et militem in armis invenit. dum legiones de ordine agminis sortiuntur, equites prorupere; et mirum dictu, a paucioribus Othonianis quo minus in vallum inpingerentur, Italicae legionis virtute deterriti sunt: ea strictis mucronibus redire pulsos et pugnam resumere coegit. disposita Vitellianarum legionum acies sine trepidatione: etenim, quanquam vicino hoste, aspectus armorum densis arbustis prohibebatur. apud Othonianos pavidi duces, miles ducibus infensus, mixta vehicula et lixae, et praeruptis utrimque fossis via quieto quoque agmini angusta. circumsistere alii signa sua, quaerere alii; incertus undique clamor adcurrentium, vocantium: ut cuique audacia vel formido, in primam postremamve aciem prorumpebant aut relabebantur.

42 XLII. Attonitas subito terrore mentes falsum gaudium in languorem vertit repertis, qui descivisse a Vitellio exercitum ementirentur. is rumor ab exploratoribus Vitellii dispersus, an in ipsa Othonis parte seu dolo seu forte surrexerit, parum compertum. omisso pugnae ardore Othoniani ultro salutavere; et hostili murmure excepti, plerisque suorum ignaris, quae causa salutandi, metum proditionis fecere. tum incubuit hostium acies, integris ordinibus, robore et numero praestantior: Othoniani quanquam dispersi pauciores fessi, proelium tamen acriter sumpsere. et per locos arboribus ac vineis

On the march they encounter Vitellius' forces, and are signally defeated.

inpeditos non una pugnae facies: comminus eminus, catervis et cuneis concurrebant. in aggere viae conlato gradu corporibus et umbonibus niti, omisso pilorum iactu gladiis et securibus galeas loricasque perrumpere: noscentes inter se, ceteris conspicui, in
43 eventum totius belli certabant. XLIII. Forte inter Padum viamque patenti campo duae legiones congressae sunt, pro Vitellio unaetvicensima, cui cognomen Rapaci, vetere gloria insignis, e parte Othonis prima Adiutrix, non ante in aciem deducta, sed ferox et novi decoris avidi. primani stratis unaetvicensimanorum principiis aquilam abstulere: quo dolore accensa legio et inpulit rursus primanos, interfecto Orfidio Benigno legato, et plurima signa vexillaque ex hostibus rapuit. a parte alia propulsa quintanorum impetu tertia decimo legio; circumventi plurium adcursu quartadecimani. et ducibus Othonis iam pridem profugis Caecina ac Valens subsidiis suos firmabant. accessit recens auxilium, Varus Alfenus cum Batavis, fusa gladiatorum manu, quam navibus transvectam obpositae cohortes in ipso flumine truci-
44 daverant: ita victores latus hostium invecti. XLIV. Et media acie perrupta fugere passim Othoniani Bedriacum petentes. inmensum id spatium; obstructae strage corporum viae; quo plus caedis fuit: neque enim civilibus bellis capti in praedam vertuntur. Suetonius Paulinus et Licinius Proculus diversis itineribus castra vitavere. Vedium Aquilam tertiae decimae legionis legatum irae militum inconsultus pavor obtulit. multo adhuc die vallum ingressus clamore seditiosorum et fugacium circumstrepitur;

The beaten army threatens its leaders.

non probris, non manibus abstinent; desertorem proditoremque increpant, nullo proprio crimine eius, sed more volgi suum quisque flagitium aliis obiectantes. Titianum et Celsum nox iuvit, dispositis iam excubiis conpressisque militibus, quos Annius Gallus consilio precibus auctoritate flexerat, ne super cladem adversae pugnae suismet ipsi caedibus saevirent: sive finis bello venisset seu resumere arma mallent, unicum victis in consensu levamentum. ceteris fractus animus: praetorianus miles non virtute se sed proditione victum fremebat. ne Vitellianis quidem incruentam fuisse victoriam, pulso equite, rapta legionis aquila; superesse cum ipso Othone militum quod trans Padum fuerit; venire Moesicas legiones; magnam exercitus partem Bedriaci remansisse: hos certe nondum victos, et si ita ferret, honestius in acie perituros. his cogitationibus truces aut pavidi extrema desperatione ad iram saepius quam in formidinem stimulabantur.

XLV. At Vitellianus exercitus ad quintum a **45**
Bedriaco lapidem consedit, non ausis ducibus eadem die obpugnationem castrorum; simul voluntaria deditio sperabatur. sed expeditis et tantum ad proelium egressis munimentum fuere arma et victoria. postera die haud ambigua Othoniani exercitus voluntate et, qui ferociores fuerant, ad paenitentiam inclinantibus missa legatio; nec apud duces Vitellianos dubitatum, quo minus pacem concederent. legati paulisper retenti. ea res haesitationem attulit ignaris adhuc, an impetrassent. mox remissa legatione patuit vallum. tum victi victo-

They surrender to Vitellius' generals.

resque in lacrimas effusi, sortem civilium armorum misera laetitia detestantes. isdem tentoriis alii fratrum, alii propinquorum volnera fovebant. spes et praemia in ambiguo, certa funera et luctus, nec quisquam adeo mali expers, ut non aliquam mortem maereret. requisitum Orfidii legati corpus honore solito crematur; paucos necessarii ipsorum sepelivere; ceterum volgus super humum relictum.

46 XLVI. Opperiebatur Otho nuntium pugnae nequaquam trepidus et consilii certus. maesta primum fama, dein profugi e proelio perditas res patefaciunt. non expectavit militum ardor vocem imperatoris. bonum haberet animum iubebant: superesse adhuc novas vires et ipsos extrema passuros ausurosque. neque erat adulatio: ire in aciem, excitare partium fortunam furore quodam et instinctu flagrabant. qui procul astiterant, tendere manus, et proximi prensare genua, promptissimo Plotio Firmo. is praetorii praefectus identidem orabat, ne fidissimum exercitem, ne optime meritos milites desereret: maiore animo tolerari adversa quam relinqui; fortes et strenuos etiam contra fortunam insistere spei, timidos et ignavos ad desperationem formidine properare. quas inter voces ut flexerat voltum aut induraverat Otho, clamor et gemitus. nec praetoriani tantum, proprius Othonis miles, sed praemissi e Moesia eandem obstinationem adventantis exercitus, legiones Aquileiam ingressas nuntiabant, ut nemo dubitet potuisse renovari bellum
47 atrox, lugubre, incertum victis et victoribus. XLVII. Ipse aversus a consiliis belli "hunc" inquit "animum,

Otho is urged to continue the contest,

hanc virtutem vestram ultra periculis obicere nimis grande vitae meae pretium puto. quanto plus spei ostenditis, si vivere placeret, tanto *but refuses.* pulchrior mors erit. experti in vicem sumus ego ac fortuna. nec tempus conputaveritis: difficilius est temperare felicitati, qua te non putes diu usurum. civile bellum a Vitellio coepit, et ut de principatu certaremus armis, initium illic fuit: ne plus quam semel certemus, penes me exemplum erit; hinc Othonem posteritas aestimet. fruetur Vitellius fratre, coniuge, liberis: mihi non ultione neque solaciis opus est. alii diutius imperium tenuerint: nemo tam fortiter reliquerit. an ego tantum Romanae pubis, tot egregios exercitus sterni rursus et rei publicae eripi patiar? eat hic mecum animus, tanquam perituri pro me fueritis, set este superstites. nec diu moremur, ego incolumitatem vestram, vos constantiam meam. plura de extremis loqui pars ignaviae est. praecipuum destinationis meae documentum habete, quod de nemine queror. nam incusare deos vel
homines eius est, qui vivere velit." XLVIII. Talia **48**
locutus, ut cuique aetas aut dignitas, comiter appellatos, irent propere neu remanendo iram victoris asperarent, juvenes auctoritate, senes *He dismisses his friends,* precibus movebat, placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempestivas suorum lacrimas coercens. dari naves ac vehicula abeuntibus iubet; libellos epistulasque studio erga se aut in Vitellium contumeliis insignes abolet; pecunias distribuit parce nec ut periturus. mox Salvium Cocceianum, fratris filium prima iuventa, trepidum et maerentem ultro solatus

est laudando pietatem eius, castigando formidinem: an Vitellium tam inmitis animi fore, ut pro incolumi tota domo ne hanc quidem sibi gratiam redderet? mereri se festinato exitu clementiam victoris: non enim ultima desperatione, sed poscente proelium exercitu, remisisse rei publicae novissimum casum. satis sibi nominis, satis posteris suis nobilitatis quaesitum. post Iulios Claudios Servios se primum in familiam novam imperium intulisse. proinde erecto animo capesseret vitam, neu patruum sibi Othonem fuisse aut oblivisceretur umquam aut nimium memi-
49 nisset. XLIX. Post quae dimotis omnibus paulum requievit. atque illum supremas iam curas animo volutantem repens tumultus avertit, nuntiata consternatione ac licentia militum: namque abeuntibus exitium minitabantur, atrocissima in Verginium vi, quem clausa domo obsidebant. increpitis seditionis auctoribus regressus vacavit abeuntium adloquiis, donec omnes inviolati digrederentur. vesperascente die sitim haustu gelidae aquae sedavit. tum adlatis pugionibus duobus, cum utrumque pertemptasset, alterum capiti subdidit. et explorato iam profectos amicos, noctem quietam, utque adfirmatur, non insomnem egit. luce prima in ferrum pectore incubuit. ad gemitum morientis ingressi liberti servique et Plotius Firmus praetorii praefectus unum volnus invenere. funus maturatum: ambitiosis id precibus petierat, ne amputaretur caput ludibrio futurum. tulere corpus praetoriae cohortes cum laudibus et lacrimis volnus manusque eius exosculantes. quidam militum iuxta rogum inter-

and commits suicide.

fecere se, non noxa neque ob metum, sed aemulatione decoris et caritate principis. ac postea promisce Bedriaci Placentiae aliisque in castris celebratum id genus mortis. Othoni sepulchrum extructum est modicum et mansurum. hunc vitae finem habuit
septimo et tricensimo aetatis anno. L. Origo illi e **50**
municipio Ferentino, pater consularis, avus praetorius; maternum genus inpar nec tamen indecorum. pueritia ac iuventa, qualem monstravimus. duobus facinoribus, altero flagitiosissimo, altero egregio, tantundem apud posteros meruit bonae famae quantum malae. ut conquirere fabulosa et fictis oblectare legentium animos procul gravitate coepti operis crediderim, ita volgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim. die, quo Bedriaci certabatur, avem invisitata specie apud Regium Lepidum celebri luco consedisse incolae memorant, nec deinde coetu hominum aut circumvolitantium alitum territam pulsamve, donec Otho se ipse interficeret; tum ablatam ex oculis; et tempora reputantibus initium finemque miraculi cum Othonis exitu competisse.

LI. In funere eius novata luctu ac dolore militum **51**
seditio, nec erat qui coerceret. ad Verginium versi, modo ut reciperet imperium, nunc ut legatione apud Caecinam ac Valentem fungeretur, minitantes orabant: Verginius per aversam domus partem furtim digressus inrumpentes frustratus est. earum quae Brixelli egerant cohortium preces Rubrius Gallus tulit, et venia statim impetrata, concedentibus ad victorem per Flavium Sabinum iis copiis, quibus praefuerat.

This terminates the war.

52 LII. Posito ubique bello magna pars senatus extremum discrimen adiit, profecta cum Othone ab urbe, dein Mutinae relicta. illuc adverso de proelio adlatum: sed milites ut falsum rumorem aspernantes, quod infensum Othoni senatum arbitrabantur, custodire sermones, voltum habitumque trahere in deterius; conviciis postremo ac probris causam et initium caedis quaerebant, cum alius insuper metus senatoribus instaret, ne praevalidis iam Vitelli partibus cunctanter excepisse victoriam crederentur. ita trepidi et utrimque anxii coeunt, nemo privatim expedito consilio, inter multos societate culpae tutior. onerabat paventium curas ordo Mutinensis arma et pecuniam offerendo appellabatque

Otho's retinue of senators is threatened by the soldiers.

53 patres conscriptos intempestivo honore. LIII. Notabile iurgium fuit, quo Licinius Caecina Marcellum Eprium ut ambigua disserentem invasit. nec ceteri sententias aperiebant: sed invisum memoria delationum expositumque ad invidiam Marcelli nomen inritaverat Caecinam, ut novus adhuc et in senatum nuper adscitus magnis inimicitiis claresceret. moderatione meliorum dirempti. et rediere omnes Bononiam, rursus consiliaturi; simul medio temporis plures nuntii sperabantur. Bononiae divisis per itinera, qui recentissimum quemque percunctarentur, interrogatus Othonis libertus causam digressus habere se suprema eius mandata respondit; ipsum viventem quidem relictum, sed sola posteritatis cura et abruptis vitae blandimentis. hinc admiratio et plura interrogandi pudor; atque omnium animi in Vitellium in-

54 clinavere. LIV. Intererat consiliis frater eius L.

Vitellius seque iam adulantibus offerebat, cum repente Coenus libertus Neronis atroci mendacio universos perculit, adfirmans superventu quartae decimae legionis, iunctis a Brixello viribus, caesos victores, versam partium fortunam. causa fingendi fuit, ut diplomata Othonis, quae neglegebantur, laetiore nuntio revalescerent. et Coenus quidem rapide in urbem vectus paucos post dies iussu Vitellii poenas luit. senatorum periculum auctum credentibus Othonianis militibus vera esse quae adferebantur. intendebat formidinem, quod publici consilii facie discessum Mutina desertaeque partes forent. nec ultra in commune congressi sibi quisque consuluere, donec missae a Fabio Valente epistulae demerent metum. et mors Othonis quo laudabilior, eo velocius audita.

Rome welcomes the news of Vitellius' victory.

LV. At Romae nihil trepidationis; Ceriales ludi 55
ex more spectabantur. ut cessisse Othonem et a Flavio Sabino praefecto urbis, quod erat in urbe militum, sacramento Vitellii adactum certi auctores in theatrum adtulerunt, Vitellio plausere; populus cum lauru ac floribus Galbae imagines circum templa tulit, congestis in modum tumuli coronis iuxta lacum Curti, quem locum Galba moriens sanguine infecerat. in senatu cuncta longis aliorum principatibus conposita statim decernuntur; additae erga Germanicum exercitum laudes gratesque et missa legatio, quae gaudio fungeretur. recitatae Fabii Valentis epistulae ad consules scriptae haud immoderate: gratior Caecinae modestia fuit, quod non

Outrages of the Vitellian soldiery.

scripsisset. LVI. Ceterum Italia gravius 56
atque atrocius quam bello adflictabatur.

dispersi per municipia et colonias Vitelliani spoliare rapere, vi et stupris polluere: in omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales non sacro, non profano abstinebant. et fuere qui inimicos suos specie militum interficerent. ipsique milites regionum gnari refertos agros, dites dominos in praedam aut, si repugnatum foret, ad excidium destinabant, obnoxiis ducibus et prohibere non ausis. minus avaritiae in Caecina, plus ambitionis: Valens ob lucra et quaestus infamis eoque alienae etiam culpae dissimulator. iam pridem adtritis Italiae rebus tantum peditum equitumque, vis damnaque et iniuriae aegre tolerabantur.

Vitellius receives in Gaul the news of his victory.

57 LVII. Interim Vitellius victoriae suae nescius ut ad integrum bellum reliquas Germanici exercitus vires trahebat. pauci veterum militum in hibernis relicti, festinatis per Gallias dilectibus, ut remanentium legionum nomina supplerentur. cura ripae Hordeonio Flacco permissa; ipse e Britannico *exercitu* delecta octo milia sibi adiunxit. et paucorum dierum iter progressus prosperas apud Bedriacum res ac morte Othonis concidisse bellum accepit: vocata contione virtutem militum laudibus cumulat. postulante exercitu, ut libertum suum Asiaticum equestri dignitate donaret, inhonestam adulationem conpescit: dein mobilitate ingenii, quod palam abnuerat, inter secreta convivii largitur honoravitque Asiaticum anulis, foedum mancipium et malis artibus ambitiosum.

58 LVIII. Isdem diebus accessisse partibus utramque Mauretaniam, interfecto procuratore Albino, nuntii venere. Lucceius Albinus a Nerone Mauretaniae

Caesariensi praepositus, addita per Galbam Tingitanae provinciae administratione, haud spernendis viribus agebat. decem novem cohortes, quinque alae, ingens Maurorum numerus aderat, per latrocinia et raptus apta bello manus. caeso Galba in Othonem pronus nec Africa contentus Hispaniae angusto freto diremptae imminebat. inde Cluvio Rufo metus; et decimam legionem propinquare litori ut transmissurus iussit. praemissi centuriones, qui Maurorum animos Vitellio conciliarent; neque arduum fuit magna per provincias Germanici exercitus fama. spargebatur insuper spreto procuratoris vocabulo Albinum insigne regis et Iubae nomen usurpare.

Cluvius Rufus suppresses Otho's partisans in Africa.

LIX. Ita mutatis animis Asinius Pollio alae praefectus, e fidissimis Albino, et Festus ac Scipio cohortium praefecti opprimuntur. ipse Albinus dum e Tingitana provincia Caesariensem Mauretaniam petit, adpulsu litoris trucidatus; uxor eius cum se percussoribus obtulisset, simul interfecta est, nihil eorum quae fierent Vitellio anquirente. brevi auditu quamvis magna transibat, inpar curis gravioribus. 59

Exercitum itinere terrestri pergere iubet: ipse Arare flumine devehitur, nullo principali paratu, sed vetere egestate conspicuus, donec Iunius Blaesus Lugudunensis Galliae rector, genere illustri, largus animo et par opibus, circumdaret principi ministeria, comitaretur liberaliter, eo ipso ingratus, quamvis odium Vitellius vernilibus blanditiis velaret. praesto fuere Luguduni victricium victarumque partium duces.

Vitellius meets his own and Otho's generals at Lyons.

Valentem et Caecinam pro contione laudatos curuli suae circumposuit. mox universum exercitum occurrere infanti filio iubet; perlatumque et paludamento opertum sinu retinens Germanicum appellavit cinxitque cunctis fortunae principalis insignibus. nimius honos inter secunda rebus adversis in solacium cessit.

60 LX. Tum interfecti centuriones promptissimi Othonianorum, unde praecipua in Vitellium alienatio per Illyricos exercitus; simul ceterae legiones contactu et adversus Germanicos milites invidia bellum meditabantur. Suetonium Paulinum ac Licinium Proculum tristi mora squalidos tenuit, donec auditi necessariis magis defensionibus quam honestis uterentur. proditionem ultro inputabant, spatium longi ante proelium itineris, fatigationem Othonianorum, permixtum vehiculis agmen ac pleraque fortuita fraudi suae adsignantes. et Vitellius credidit de perfidia et fidem absolvit. Salvius Titianus Othonis frater nullum discrimen adiit, pietate et ignavia excusatus. Mario Celso consulatus servatur: sed creditum fama obiectumque mox in senatu Caecilio Simplici, quod eum honorem pecunia mercari, nec sine exitio Celsi, voluisset: restitit Vitellius deditque postea consulatum Simplici innoxium et inemptum. Trachalum adversus criminantes Galeria uxor Vitellii protexit.

61 LXI. Inter magnorum virorum discrimina (pudendum dictu) Mariccus quidam, e plebe Boiorum, inserere sese fortunae et provocare arma Romana simulatione numinum ausus est. iamque adsertor Galliarum et deus (nam id sibi indiderat) concitis

octo milibus hominum proximos Aeduorum pagos trahebat, cum gravissima civitas electa iuventute, adiectis a Vitellio cohortibus, fanaticam multitudinem disiecit. captus in eo proelio Mariccus ac mox feris obiectus quia non laniabatur, stolidum volgus inviolabilem credebat, donec spectante Vitellio interfectus est.

LXII. Nec ultra in defectores aut bona cuiusquam 62
saevitum: rata fuere eorum, qui acie Othoniana ceciderant, testamenta aut lex intestatis. prorsus, si luxuriae temperaret, avaritiam non timeres. epularum foeda et inexplebilis libido: ex urbe atque Italia inritamenta gulae gestabantur, strepentibus ab utroque mari itineribus; exhausti conviviorum apparatibus principes civitatum; vastabantur ipsae civitates; degenerabat a labore ac virtute miles adsuetudine voluptatum et contemptu ducis. praemisit in urbem edictum, quo vocabulum Augusti differret, Caesaris non reciperet, cum de potestate nihil detraheret. pulsi Italia mathematici; cautum severe, ne equites Romani ludo et arena polluerentur. priores id principes pecunia et saepius vi perpulerant, ac pleraque municipia et coloniae aemulabantur corruptissimum quemque adulescentium pretio inlicere.

Although self-indulgent, he does not at first abuse his victory.

LXIII. Sed Vitellius adventu fratris et inre- 63
pentibus dominationis magistris superbior et atrocior occidi Dolabellam iussit, quem in coloniam Aquinatem sepositum ab Othone rettulimus. Dolabella audita morte Othonis urbem introierat. id ei Plancius Varus praetura functus, ex intimis Dola-

bellae amicis, apud Flavium Sabinum praefectum urbis obiecit, tanquam rupta custodia ducem se victis partibus ostentasset: addidit temptatam cohortem, quae Ostiae ageret; nec ullis tantorum criminum probationibus in paenitentiam versus seram veniam post scelus quaerebat. cunctantem super tanta re Flavium Sabinum Triaria L. Vitellii uxor, ultra feminam ferox, terruit, ne periculo principis famam clementiae adfectaret. Sabinus suopte ingenio mitis, ubi formido incessisset, facilis mutatu et in alieno discrimine sibi pavens, ne adlevasse videretur, inpulit ruentem.

Dolabella is put to death on a charge of high treason.

64 LXIV. Igitur Vitellius metu et odio, quod Petroniam uxorem eius mox Dolabella in matrimonium accepisset, vocatum per epistulas vitata Flaminiae viae celebritate devertere Interamnam atque ibi interfici iussit. longum interfectori visum: in itinere ac taberna proiectum humi iugulavit, magna cum invidia novi principatus, cuius hoc primum specimen noscebatur. et Triariae licentiam modestum e proximo exemplum onerabat, Galeria imperatoris uxor, non inmixta tristibus; et pari probitate mater Vitelliorum Sextilia, antiqui moris. dixisse quin etiam ad primas filii sui epistulas ferebatur non Germanicum a se, sed Vitellium genitum. nec ullis postea fortunae inlecebris aut ambitu civitatis in gaudium evicta domus suae tantum adversa sensit.

65 LXV. Digressum a Luguduno Vitellium Cluvius Rufus adsequitur omissa Hispania, laetitiam et gratulationem voltu ferens, animo anxius et petitum se criminationibus gnarus. Hilarius Caesaris libertus

detulerat, tanquam audito Vitellii et Othonis principatu propriam ipse potentiam et possessionem Hispaniarum temptasset eoque diplomatibus nullum principem praescripsisset. interpretabatur quaedam ex orationibus eius contumeliosa in Vitellium et pro se ipso popularia. auctoritas Cluvii praevaluit, ut puniri ultro libertum suum Vitellius iuberet. Cluvius comitatui principis adiectus, non adempta Hispania, quam rexit absens exemplo L. Arrunti. eum Ti. Caesar ob metum, Vitellius Cluvium nulla formidine retinebat. non idem Trebellio Maximo honos: profugerat Britannia ob iracundiam militum; missus est in locum eius Vettius Bolanus e praesentibus.

Cluvius Rufus is forced to attend the emperor, but retains his province.

66 LXVI. Angebat Vitellium victarum legionum haudquaquam fractus animus. sparsae per Italiam et victoribus permixtae hostilia loquebantur, praecipua quartadecimanorum ferocia, qui se victos abnuebant: quippe Bedriacensi acie vexillariis tantum pulsis vires legionis non adfuisse. remitti eos in Britanniam, unde a Nerone exciti erant, placuit atque interim Batavorum cohortes una tendere ob veterem adversus quartadecimanos discordiam. nec diu in tantis armatorum odiis quies fuit. Augustae Taurinorum dum opificem quendam Batavus ut fraudatorem insectatur, legionarius ut hospitem tuetur, sui cuique commilitones adgregati a conviciis ad caedem transiere. et proelium atrox arsisset, ni duae praetoriae cohortes causam quartadecimanorum secutae his fiduciam et metum Batavis fecissent. quos Vitellius agmini suo iungi ut fidos, legionem Grais

Vitellius deals with disturbances in the army,

Alpibus traductam eo flexu itineris ire iubet, quo Viennam vitarent: namque et Viennenses timebantur. nocte, qua proficiscebatur legio, relictis passim ignibus pars Taurinae coloniae ambusta, quod damnum, ut pleraque belli mala, maioribus aliarum urbium cladibus obliteratum. quartadecimani postquam Alpibus degressi sunt, seditiosissimus quisque signa Viennam ferebant: consensu meliorum conpressi et legio in
67 Britanniam transvecta. LXVII. proximus Vitellio e praetoriis cohortibus metus erat. separati primum, deinde addito honestae missionis lenimento arma ad tribunos suos deferebant, donec motum a Vespasiano bellum crebresceret: tum resumpta militia robur Flavianarum partium fuere. prima classicorum legio in Hispaniam missa, ut pace et otio mitesceret; undecima ac septima suis hibernis redditae; tertiadecimani struere amphitheatra iussi. nam Caecina Cremonae, Valens Bononiae spectaculum gladiatorum edere parabant, numquam ita ad curas intento Vitellio, ut voluptatum oblivisceretur.

assigning various employments to Otho's troops.

68 LXVIII. Et *has* quidem partes modeste distraxerat: apud victores orta seditio ludicro initio, *ni* numerus caesorum invidiam belli traxisset. discubuerat Vitellius Ticini adhibito ad epulas Verginio. legati tribunique ex moribus imperatorum severitatem aemulantur vel tempestivis conviviis gaudent; proinde miles intentus aut licenter agit. apud Vitellium omnia indisposita, temulenta, pervigiliis ac bacchanalibus quam disciplinae et castris propiora. igitur duobus militibus, altero legionis quintae, altero e Gallis auxiliaribus, per lasciviam

A quarrel in the camp

ad certamen luctandi accensis, postquam legionarius prociderat, insultante Gallo et iis qui ad spectandum convenerant in studia diductis, erupere legionarii in perniciem auxiliorum ac duae cohortes interfectae. remedium tumultus fuit alius tumultus. pulvis procul et arma aspiciebantur: conclamatum repente quartam decimam legionem verso itinere ad proelium venire; sed erant agminis coactores: agniti dempsere sollicitudinem. interim Verginii servus forte obvius ut percussor Vitellii insimulatur, et ruebat ad convivium miles mortem Verginii exposcens. ne Vitellius quidem, quanquam ad omnes suspiciones pavidus, de innocentia eius dubitavit: aegre tamen cohibiti qui exitium consularis et quondam ducis sui flagitabant. nec quemquam saepius quam Verginium omnis seditio infestavit: manebat admiratio viri et fama, set oderant ut fastiditi.

LXIX. postero die Vitellius, senatus legatione quam **69**
ibi opperiri iusserat audita, transgressus in castra ultro pietatem militum conlaudavit, frementibus auxiliis tantum impunitatis atque arrogantiae legionariis accessisse. Batavorum cohortes, ne quid truculentius auderent, in Germaniam remissae, principium interno simul externoque bello parantibus fatis. reddita civitatibus Gallorum auxilia, ingens numerus et prima statim defectione inter inania belli adsumptus. Ceterum ut largitionibus adfectae iam imperii opes sufficerent, amputari legionum auxiliorumque numeros iubet vetitis supplementis; et promiscae missiones offerebantur. exitiabile id rei publicae, ingratum militi, cui eadem

is followed by the dismissal of many of the men.

munia inter paucos periculaque ac labor crebrius redibant. et vires luxu corrumpebantur contra veterem disciplinam et instituta maiorum, apud quos virtute quam pecunia res Romana melius stetit.

Vitellius visits the field of Bedriacum.

70 LXX. Inde Vitellius Cremonam flexit et spectato munere Caecinae insistere Bedriacensibus campis ac vestigia recentis victoriae lustrare oculis concupivit. foedum atque atrox spectaculum intra quadragensimum pugnae diem: lacera corpora, trunci artus, putres virorum equorumque formae, infecta tabo humus, protritis arboribus ac frugibus dira vastitas. nec minus inhumana pars viae, quam Cremonenses lauru rosaque constraverant, extructis altaribus caesisque victimis regium in morem; quae laeta in praesens mox perniciem ipsis fecere. aderant Valens et Caecina monstrabantque pugnae locos; hinc inrupisse legionum agmen, hinc equites coortos, inde circumfusas auxiliorum manus. iam tribuni praefectique, sua quisque facta extollentes, falsa vera aut maiora vero miscebant. volgus quoque militum clamore et gaudio deflectere via, spatia certaminum recognoscere, aggerem armorum, strues corporum intueri mirari; et erant quos varia sors rerum lacrimaeque et misericordia subiret. at non Vitellius flexit oculos nec tot milia insepultorum civium exhorruit: laetus ultro et tam propinquae sortis ignarus instaurabat sacrum dis loci.

71 LXXI. Exin Bononiae a Fabio Valente gladiatorum spectaculum editur, advecto ex urbe cultu. quantoque magis propinquabat, tanto corruptius iter inmixtis histrionibus et spadonum gregibus et cetero

Neronianae aulae ingenio. namque et Neronem ipsum Vitellius admiratione celebrabat, sectari cantantem solitus, non necessitate, qua honestissimus quisque, sed luxu et saginae mancipatus emptusque. ut Valenti et Caecinae vacuos honoris menses aperiret, coartati aliorum consulatus, dissimulatus Marci Macri tanquam Othonianarum partium ducis; et Valerium Marinum destinatum a Galba consulem distulit, nulla offensa, sed mitem et iniuriam segniter laturum; Pedanius Costa omittitur, ingratus principi ut adversus Neronem ausus et Verginii extimulator, sed alias protulit causas; actaeque insuper Vitellio gratiae consuetudine servitii.

He modifies the arrangements for tenure of the consulship.

72

LXXII. Non ultra paucos dies quanquam acribus initiis coeptum mendacium valuit. extiterat quidam Scribonianum se Camerinum ferens, Neronianorum temporum metu in Histria occultatum, quod illic clientelae et agri veterum Crassorum ac nominis favor manebat. igitur deterrimo quoque in argumentum fabulae assumpto volgus credulum et quidam militum errore veri seu turbarum studio certatim adgregabantur, cum pertractus ad Vitellium interrogatusque, quisnam mortalium esset. postquam nulla dictis fides et a domino noscebatur condicione fugitivus nomine Geta, sumptum de eo supplicium in servilem modum.

An impostor is detected and punished.

73

LXXIII. Vix credibile memoratu est, quantum superbiae socordiaeque Vitellio adoleverit, postquam speculatores e Syria Iudaeaque adactum in verba eius Orientem nuntiavere. nam etsi vagis adhuc et incer-

tis auctoribus, erat tamen in ore famaque Vespasianus ac plerumque ad nomen eius Vitellius excitabatur: tum ipse exercitusque, ut nullo aemulo, saevitia libi-
74 dine raptu in externos mores proruperant. LXXIV. At Vespasianus bellum armaque et procul vel iuxta sitas vires circumspectabat. miles ipsi adeo paratus, ut praeeuntem sacramentum et fausta Vitellio omnia precantem per silentium audierint; Muciani animus nec Vespasiano alienus et in Titum pronior; praefectus Aegypti *Ti.* Alexander consilia sociaverat; tertiam legionem, quod e Syria in Moesiam transisset, suam numerabat; ceterae Illyrici legiones secuturae sperabantur; namque omnis exercitus flammaverat adrogantia venientium a Vitellio militum, quod truces corpore, horridi sermone ceteros ut inpares inridebant. sed in tanta mole belli plerumque cunctatio; et Vespasianus modo in spem erectus, aliquando adversa reputabat: quis ille dies foret, quo sexaginta aetatis annos et duos filios iuvenes bello permitteret? esse privatis cogitationibus progressum, et prout velint, plus minusve sumi ex fortuna: imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter summa aut praeci-
75 pitia. LXXV. Versabatur ante oculos Germanici exercitus robur, notum viro militari: suas legiones civili bello inexpertas, Vitelli victrices, et apud victos plus querimoniarum quam virium. fluxam per discordias militum fidem et periculum ex singulis: quid enim profuturas cohortes alasque, si unus alterque praesenti facinore paratum ex diverso praemium petat? sic Scribonianum sub Claudio interfectum,

Meanwhile Vespasian is inclined to shrink from civil war;

sic percussorem eius Volaginium e gregario ad summa militiae provectum: facilius universos inpelli quam singulos vitari. LXXVI. His pavoribus nutantem 76
et alii legati amicique firmabant et Mucianus post multos secretosque sermones iam et coram ita locutos: "omnes, qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, aestimare debent, an quod inchoatur rei publicae utile, ipsis gloriosum, promptum effectu aut certe non arduum sit; simul ipse qui suadet considerandus est, adiciatne consilio periculum suum, et si fortuna coeptis adfuerit, cui summum decus adquiratur. ego te, Vespasiane, ad imperium voco, quam salutare rei publicae, quam tibi magnificum, iuxta deos in tua manu positum est. nec speciem adulantis expaveris: a contumelia quam a laude propius fuerit post Vitellium eligi. non adversus divi Augusti acerrimam mentem nec adversus cautissimam Tiberii senectutem, ne contra Gai quidem aut Claudii vel Neronis fundatam longo imperio domum exsurgimus; cessisti etiam Galbae imaginibus: torpere ultra et polluendam perdendamque rem publicam relinquere sopor et ignavia videretur, etiam si tibi, quam inhonesta, tam tuta servitus esset. abiit iam et transvectum est tempus, quo posses videri concupisse: confugiendum est ad imperium. an excidit trucidatus Corbulo? splendidior origine quam nos sumus, fateor, sed et Nero nobilitate natalium Vitellium anteibat. satis clarus est apud timentem quisquis timetur. et posse ab exercitu principem fieri sibi ipse Vitellius documento, nullis stipendis, nulla

but he is encouraged by Mucian,

on the ground that victory is at once easy and necessary,

militari fama, Galbae odio provectus. ne Othonem quidem ducis arte aut exercitus vi, sed praepropera ipsius desperatione victum, iam desiderabilem et magnum principem fecit, cum interim spargit legiones, exarmat cohortes, nova cotidie bello semina ministrat. si quid ardoris ac ferociae miles habuit, popinis et comissationibus et principis imitatione deteritur. tibi e Iudaea et Syria et Aegypto novem legiones integrae, nulla acie exhaustae, non discordia corruptae, sed firmatus usu miles et belli domitor externi; classium alarum cohortium robora et fidissimi
77 reges et tua ante omnis experientia. LXXVII. Nobis nihil ultra adrogabo, quam ne post Valentem et Caecinam numeremur. ne tamen Mucianum

and that the speaker will be an ally and not a rival.

socium spreveris, quia aemulum non experiris. me Vitellio antepono, te mihi. tuae domui triumphale nomen, duo iuvenes, capax iam imperii alter, et primis militiae annis apud Germanicos quoque exercitus clarus. absurdum fuerit non cedere imperio ei, cuius filium adoptaturus essem, si ipse imperarem. ceterum inter nos non idem prosperarum adversarumque rerum ordo erit. nam si vincimus, honorem quem dederis habebo: discrimen ac pericula ex aequo partiemur. immo, ut melius est, *tu* tuos exercitus rege, mihi bellum et proeliorum incerta trade. acriore hodie disciplina victi quam victores agunt. hos ira odium ultionis cupiditas ad virtutem accendit: illi per fastidium et contumaciam hebescunt. aperiet et recludet contecta et tumescentia victricium partium volnera bellum ipsum. nec mihi maior in tua vigi-

lantia parsimonia sapientia fiducia est quam in Vitellii torpore inscitia saevitia. sed meliorem in bello causam quam in pace habemus: nam qui deliberant, desciverunt." LXXVIII. Post Muciani 78
orationem ceteri audentius circumsistere hortari, responsa vatum et siderum motus referre. nec erat intactus tali superstitione, ut qui mox rerum dominus Seleucum quendam mathematicum rectorem et praescium palam habuerit. recursabant animo vetera omina: cupressus arbor in agris eius conspicua altitudine repente prociderat ac postera die eodem vestigio resurgens procera et latior virebat. grande id prosperumque consensu haruspicum et summa claritudo iuveni admodum Vespasiano promissa. sed primo triumphalia et consulatus et Iudaicae victoriae decus inplesse fidem ominis videbatur: ut haec adeptus est, portendi sibi imperium credebat. est Iudaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus: ita vocant montem deumque. nec simulacrum deo aut templum (sic tradidere maiores): ara tantum et reverentia. illic sacrificanti Vespasiano, cum spes occultas versaret animo, Basilides sacerdos inspectis identidem extis "quicquid est," inquit, "Vespasiane, quod paras, seu domum extruere seu prolatare agros sive ampliare servitia, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum." has ambages et statim exceperat fama et tunc aperiebat, nec quidquam magis in ore volgi; crebriores apud ipsum sermones, quanto sperantibus plura dicuntur. LXXIX. Haud dubia 79
destinatione discessere, Mucianus Antiochiam, Ves-

Omens and prophecies support Mucian's advice.

pasianus Caesaream: illa Syriae, hoc Iudaeae caput est.

Eventually the armies of the East accept Vespasian as emperor.

Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum imperii Alexandriae coeptum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui kalendis Iuliis sacramento eius legiones adegit. isque primus principatus dies in posterum celebratus, quamvis Iudaicus exercitus quinto nonas Iulias apud ipsum iurasset, eo ardore, ut ne Titus quidem filius expectaretur, Syria remeans et consiliorum inter Mucianum ac patrem nuntius. cuncta impetu militum acta, non
80 parata contione, non coniunctis legionibus. LXXX. Dum quaeritur tempus locus, quodque in re tali difficillimum est, prima vox, dum animo spes timor, ratio casus obversantur, egressum cubiculo Vespasianum pauci milites, solito adsistentes ordine ut legatum salutaturi, imperatorem salutavere. tum ceteri adcurrere, Caesarem et Augustum et omnia principatus vocabula cumulare. mens a metu ad fortunam transierat. in ipso nihil tumidum, adrogans aut in rebus novis novum fuit. ut primum tantae altitudinis obfusam oculis caliginem disiecit, militariter locutus laeta omnia et affluentia excepit. namque id ipsum opperiens Mucianus alacrem militem in verba Vespasiani adegit. tum Antiochensium theatrum ingressus, ubi illis consultare mos est, concurrentes et in adulationem effusos adloquitur, satis decorus etiam Graeca facundia omniumque, quae diceret atque ageret, arte quadam ostentator. nihil aeque provinciam exercitumque accendit quam quod adseverabat Mucianus statuisse Vitellium, ut Germanicas legiones

in Syriam ad militiam opulentam quietamque transferret, contra Syriacis legionibus Germanica hiberna caelo ac laboribus dura mutarentur. quippe et provinciales sueto militum contubernio gaudebant, plerique necessitudinibus et propinquitatibus mixti, et militibus vetustate stipendiorum nota et familiaria castra in modum penatium diligebantur. LXXXI. **81** Ante idus Iulias Syria omnis in eodem sacramento fuit. accessere cum regno Sohaemus haud spernendis viribus, Antiochus vetustis opibus ingens *He is joined by dependent States.* et inservientium regum ditissimus. mox per occultos suorum nuntios excitus ab urbe Agrippa ignaro adhuc Vitellio celeri navigatione properaverat. nec minore animo regina Berenice partes iuvabat, florens aetate formaque et seni quoque Vespasiano magnificentia munerum grata. quidquid provinciarum adluitur mari Asia atque Achaia tenus, quantumque introrsus in Pontum et Armenios patescit, iuravere, sed inermes legati regebant nondum additis Cappadociae legionibus. consilium de summa rerum Beryti habitum. illuc Mucianus cum legatis tribunisque et splendidissimo quoque centurionum ac militum venit et e Iudaico exercitu lecta decora. tantum simul peditum equitumque et aemulantium inter se regum paratus speciem fortunae principalis effecerant. LXXXII. Prima belli cura agere dilectus, revocare **82** veteranos. destinantur validae civitates exercendis armorum officinis; apud Antiochenses aurum argentumque signatur; eaque cuncta per idoneos ministros, suis quaeque locis, festinabantur. ipse *Vespasian prepares for war.* Vespasianus adire hortari, bonos laude,

segnes exemplo incitare saepius quam coercere, vitia magis amicorum quam virtutes dissimulans. multos praefecturis et procurationibus, plerosque senatorii ordinis honore percoluit, egregios viros et mox summa adeptos; quibusdam fortuna pro virtutibus fuit. donativom militi neque Mucianus prima contione nisi modice ostenderat; ne Vespasianus quidem plus civili bello obtulit quam alii in pace, egregie firmus adversus militarem largitionem eoque exercitu meliore. missi ad Parthum Armeniumque legati provisumque, ne versis ad civile bellum legionibus terga nudarentur. Titum instare Iudaeae, Vespasianum optinere claustra Aegypti placuit: sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen ac nihil arduum fatis. ad omnes exercitus legatosque scriptae epistulae praeceptumque, ut praetorianos Vitellio infensos reciperandae militiae praemio invitarent.

sending Mucian with a large force to encounter Vitellius.

83 LXXXIII. Mucianus cum expedita manu, socium magis imperii quam ministrum agens, non lento itinere, ne cunctari videretur, neque tamen properans, gliscere famam ipso spatio sinebat, gnarus modicas vires sibi et maiora credi de absentibus. sed legio sexta et tredecim vexillariorum milia ingenti agmine sequebantur. classem e Ponto Byzantium adigi iusserat, ambiguus consilii, num omissa Moesia Dyrrachium pedite atque equite, simul longis navibus versum in Italiam mare clauderet, tuta pone tergum Achaia Asiaque, quas inermes exponi Vitellio, ni praesidiis firmarentur; atque ipsum Vitellium in incerto fore,

quam partem Italiae protegeret, si sibi Brundisium Tarentumque et Calabriae Lucaniaeque litora infestis classibus peterentur. LXXXIV. Igitur navium mili- **84**
tum armorum paratu strepere provinciae, sed nihil aeque fatigabat quam pecuniarum conquisitio: eos esse belli civilis nervos dictitans Mucianus non ius aut verum in cognitionibus, sed solam magnitudinem opum spectabat. passim delationes, et locupletissimus quisque in praedam correpti. quae gravia atque intoleranda, sed necessitate armorum excusata etiam in pace mansere, ipso Vespasiano inter initia imperii ad optinendas iniquitates haud perinde obstinante, donec indulgentia fortunae et pravis magistris didicit aususque est. propriis quoque opibus Mucianus bellum iuvit, largus privatim, quod avidius de re publica sumeret. ceteri conferendarum pecuniarum exemplum secuti: rarissimus quisque eandem in reciperando licentiam habuerunt.

LXXXV. Adcelerata interim Vespasiani coepta **85**
Illyrici exercitus studio transgressi in partes. tertia legio exemplum ceteris Moesiae legionibus praebuit: octava erat ac septima Claudiana, inbutae favore Othonis, quamvis proelio non interfuissent. Aquileiam progressae proturbatis, qui de Othone nuntiabant, laceratisque vexillis nomen Vitellii praeferentibus, rapta postremo pecunia et inter se divisa hostiliter egerant. unde metus et ex metu consilium: posse inputari Vespasiano, quae apud Vitellium excusanda erant. ita tres Moesicae legiones per epistulas alliciebant Pannonicum exercitum aut abnuenti vim parabant. in eo motu

He is joined by the army of Illyricum,

Aponius Saturninus Moesiae rector pessimum facinus audet, misso centurione ad interficiendum Tettium Iulianum septimae legionis legatum ob simultates, quibus causam partium praetendebat. Iulianus comperto discrimine et gnaris locorum adscitis per avia Moesiae ultra montem Haemum profugit; nec deinde civili bello interfuit, per varias moras susceptum ad Vespasianum iter trahens et ex nuntiis cunctabundus
86 aut properans. LXXXVI. At in Pannonia tertia

by Antonius Primus with the troops of Pannonia,

decima legio ac septima Galbiana dolorem iramque Bedriacensis pugnae retinentes haud cunctanter Vespasiano accessere vi praecipua Primi Antonii. is legibus nocens et tempore Neronis falsi damnatus inter alia belli mala senatorium ordinem reciperaverat. praepositus a Galba septimae legioni scriptitasse Othoni credebatur ducem se partibus offerens; a quo neglectus in nullo Othoniani belli usu fuit. labantibus Vitellii rebus Vespasianum secutus grande momentum addidit, strenuus manu, sermone promptus, serendae in alios invidiae artifex, discordiis et seditionibus potens, raptor largitor, pace pessimus, bello non spernendus. iuncti inde Moesici ac Pannonici exercitus Delmaticum militem traxere, quanquam consularibus legatis nihil turbantibus. Tampius Flavianus Pannoniam, Pompeius Silvanus Dalmatiam tenebant, divites senes; sed procurator aderat Cornelius Fuscus, vigens aetate, claris natalibus. prima iuventa inquies cupidine senatorium ordinem

and the Dalmatian army, with Fuscus.

exuerat; idem pro Galba dux coloniae suae eaque opera procurationem adeptus,

susceptis Vespasiani partibus acerrimam bello facem praetulit: non tam praemiis periculorum quam ipsis periculis laetus pro certis et olim partis nova ambigua ancipitia malebat. igitur movere et quatere, quidquid usquam aegrum foret, adgrediuntur. scriptae in Britanniam ad quartadecimanos, in Hispaniam ad primanos epistulae, quod utraque legio pro Othone adversa Vitellio fuerat; sparguntur per Gallias litterae; momentoque temporis flagrabat ingens bellum, Illyricis exercitibus palam desciscentibus, ceteris fortunam secuturis.

LXXXVII. Dum haec per provincias a Vespasiano **87**
ducibusque partium geruntur, Vitellius contemptior in dies segniorque, ad omnes municipiorum villarumque amoenitates resistens, gravi urbem agmine petebat. sexaginta milia armatorum sequebantur licentia corrupta; calonum numerus amplior, procacissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniis; tot legatorum amicorumque comitatus inhabilis ad parendum, etiam si summa modestia regeretur. onerabant multitudinem obvii ex urbe senatores equitesque, quidam metu, multi per adulationem, ceteri ac paulatim omnes, ne aliis proficiscentibus ipsi remanerent. adgregabantur e plebe flagitiosa per obsequia Vitellio cogniti scurrae histriones aurigae, quibus ille amicitiarum dehonestamentis mire gaudebat. nec coloniae modo aut municipia congestu copiarum, sed ipsi cultores arvaque maturis iam frugibus ut hostile solum vastabantur.

Vitellius wastes his days in luxury.

LXXXVIII. Multae et atroces inter se militum **88**
caedes, post seditionem Ticini coeptam manente

legionum auxiliorumque discordia; ubi adversus paganos certandum foret, consensu. sed plurima strages ad septimum ab urbe lapidem. singulis ibi militibus Vitellius paratos cibos ut gladiatoriam saginam dividebat; et effusa plebes totis se castris miscuerat. incuriosos milites—vernacula utebantur urbanitate—quidam spoliavere, abscisis furtim balteis, an accincti forent rogitantes. non tulit ludibrium insolens contumeliae animus: inermem populum gladiis invasere. caesus inter alios pater militis, cum filium comitaretur; deinde agnitus, et volgata caede temperatum ab innoxiis. in urbe tamen trepidatum praecurrentibus passim militibus: forum maxime petebant, cupidine visendi locum, in quo Galba iacuisset. nec minus saevum spectaculum erant ipsi tergis ferarum et ingentibus telis horrentes, cum turbam populi per inscitiam parum vitarent aut, ubi lubrico viae vel occursu alicuius procidissent, ad iurgium, mox ad manus et ferrum transirent. quin et tribuni praefectique cum terrore et armatorum catervis volitabant.

His soldiers disturb the public peace.

89 *He enters the city,*

LXXXIX. Ipse Vitellius a ponte Mulvio insigni equo, paludatus accinctusque, senatum et populum ante se agens, quo minus uni captam urbem ingrederetur, amicorum consilio deterritus, sumpta praetexta et composito agmine incessit. quattuor legionum aquilae per frontem totidemque circa e legionibus aliis vexilla, mox duodecim alarum signa et post peditum ordines eques; dein quattuor et triginta cohortes, ut nomina gentium aut species armorum forent, discretae. ante

aquilas praefecti castrorum tribunique et primi centurionum candida veste; ceteri iuxta suam quisque centuriam armis donisque fulgentes, et militum phalerae torquesque splendebant decora facies et non Vitellio principe dignus exercitus. sic Capitolium ingressus atque ibi matrem complexus Augustae
nomine honoravit. XC. Postera die tanquam apud 90
alterius civitatis senatum populumque magnificam orationem de semet ipso prompsit, industriam temperantiamque suam laudibus adtollens, consciis flagitiorum ipsis qui aderant omnique Italia, per quam somno et luxu pudendus incesserat. volgus tamen vacuum curis et sine falsi verique discrimine solitas adulationes edoctum clamore et vocibus astrepebat; abnuentique nomen Augusti expressere, ut adsumeret, tam frustra
quam recusaverat. XCI. Apud civitatem cuncta in- 91
terpretantem funesti ominis loco acceptum est, quod maximum pontificatum adeptus Vitellius de caerimoniis publicis XV. kalendas Augustas edixisset, antiquitus infausto die Cremerensi Alliensique cladibus: adeo omnis humani divinique iuris expers, pari libertorum, amicorum socordia, velut inter temulentos agebat. sed comitia consulum cum candidatis civiliter celebrans omnem infimae plebis rumorem in theatro ut spectator, in circo ut fautor adfectavit. quae grata sane et popularia, si a virtutibus proficiscerentur, memoria vitae prioris indecora et vilia accipiebantur. ventitabat in senatum, etiam cum parvis de rebus patres consulerentur. ac forte Priscus Helvidius praetor de-

and publicly announces his accession.

He shows himself in public and in the Senate

signatus contra studium eius censuerat. commotus primo Vitellius, non tamen ultra quam tribunos plebis in auxilium spretae potestatis advocavit; mox mitigantibus amicis, qui altiorem iracundiam eius verebantur, nihil novi accidisse respondit, quod duo senatores in re publica dissentirent; solitum se etiam Thraseae contradicere. inrisere plerique inpudentiam aemulationis; aliis id ipsum placebat, quod neminem ex praepotentibus, sed Thraseam ad exemplar verae gloriae legisset.

92 XCII. Praeposuerat praetorianis Publilium Sabinum a praefectura cohortis, Iulium Priscum tum centurionem: Priscus Valentis, Sabinus Caecinae gratia pollebant; inter discordes Vitellio nihil auctoritatis. munia imperii Caecina ac Valens obibant, olim anxii odiis, quae bello et castris male dissimulata pravitas amicorum et fecunda gignendis inimicitiis civitas auxerat, dum ambitu comitatu et inmensis salutantium agminibus contendunt comparanturque, variis in hunc aut illum Vitellii inclinationibus. nec umquam satis fida potentia, ubi nimia est. simul ipsum Vitellium, subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem, contemnebant metuebantque. nec eo segnius invaserant domos hortos opesque imperii, cum flebilis et egens nobilium turba, quos ipsos liberosque patriae Galba reddiderat, nulla principis misericordia iuvarentur. gratum primoribus civitatis etiam plebs adprobavit, quod reversis ab exilio iura libertorum concessisset, quanquam id omni modo servilia ingenia corrumpebant, abditis pecuniis per occultos aut ambitiosos sinus, et quidam

His adherents make the most of their power.

in domum Caesaris transgressi atque ipsis dominis potentiores.

XCIII. Sed miles, plenis castris et redundante 93 multitudine in porticibus aut delubris et urbe tota vagus, non principia noscere, non servare vigilias neque labore firmari: per illecebras urbis et inhonesta dictu corpus otio, animum libidinibus imminuebant. postremo ne salutis quidem cura infamibus Vaticani locis magna pars tetendit; unde crebrae in volgus mortes, et adiacente Tiberi Germanorum Gallorumque obnoxia morbis corpora fluminis aviditate et aestus inpatientia labefacta. insuper confusus pravitate vel ambitu ordo militiae. sedecim praetoriae, quattuor urbanae cohortes scribebantur, quis singula milia inessent. plus in eo dilectu Valens audebat, tanquam ipsum Caecinam periculo exemisset. sane adventu eius partes convaluerant, et sinistrum lenti itineris rumorem prospero proelio verterat omnisque inferioris Germaniae miles Valentem adsectabatur, unde primum creditur Caecinae fides fluitasse. XCIV. Ceterum non ita ducibus indulsit 94 Vitellius, ut non plus militi liceret. sibi quisque militiam sumpsere: quamvis indignus, si ita maluerat, urbanae militiae adscribebatur; rursus bonis remanere inter legionarios aut alares volentibus permissum. nec deerant qui vellent, fessi morbis et intemperiem caeli incusantes. robora tamen legionibus alisque subtracta, convolsum castrorum decus, viginti milibus e toto exercitu permixtis magis quam electis.

Disease and disregard of military precedent impair the strength of the army.

Contionante Vitellio postulantur ad supplicium

Asiaticus et Flavus et Rufinus duces Galliarum, quod pro Vindice bellassent. nec coercebat eiusmodi voces Vitellius: super insitam inerti animo ignaviam conscius sibi instare donativom et deesse pecuniam omnia alia militi largiebatur. liberti principum conferre pro numero mancipiorum ut tributum iussi. ipse sola perdendi cura stabula aurigis extruere, circum gladiatorum ferarumque spectaculis opplere, tanquam in summa abundantia

95 pecuniae inludere. XCV. Quin et natalem Vitellii diem Caecina ac Valens editis tota urbe vicatim gladiatoribus celebravere, ingenti paratu et ante illum diem insolito. laetum foedissimo cuique apud bonos invidiae fuit, quod extructis in campo Martio aris inferias Neroni fecisset. caesae publice victimae

Vitellius' court is no better than that of his predecessors.

cremataeque; facem Augustales subdidere, quod sacerdotium, ut Romulus Tatio regi, ita Caesar Tiberius Iuliae genti sacravit. nondum quartus a victoria mensis, et libertus Vitellii Asiaticus Polyclitos Patrobios et vetera odiorum nomina aequabat. nemo in illa aula probitate aut industria certavit; unum ad potentiam iter, prodigis epulis et sumptu, gula ganeaque satiare inexplebiles Vitellii libidines. ipse abunde ratus, si praesentibus frueretur, nec in longius consultans noviens milliens sestertium paucissimis mensibus intervertisse creditur. magna et misera civitas eodem anno Othonem Vitellium passa inter Vinics Fabios Icelos Asiaticos varia et pudenda sorte agebat, donec successere Mucianus et Marcellus et magis alii homines quam alii mores.

XCVI. Prima Vitellio tertiae legionis defectio 96
nuntiatur, missis ab Aponio Saturnino epistulis, antequam is quoque Vespasiani partibus adgregaretur. sed neque Aponius cuncta, ut trepidans re subita, perscripserat, et amici adulantes mollius interpretabantur: unius legionis eam seditionem, ceteris exercitibus constare fidem. in hunc modum etiam Vitellius apud milites disseruit, praetorianos nuper exauctoratos insectatus, a quibus falsos rumores dispergi nec ullum civilis belli metum adseverabat, suppresso Vespasiani nomine et vagis per urbem militibus, qui sermones populi coercerent. id praecipuum alimentum famae erat. XCVII. Auxilia 97
tamen e Germania Britanniaque et Hispaniis excivit, segniter et necessitatem dissimulans. perinde legati provinciaeque cunctabantur, Hordeonius Flaccus suspectis iam Batavis anxius proprio bello, Vettius Bolanus numquam satis quieta Britannia, et uterque ambigui. neque ex Hispaniis properabatur, nullo tum ibi consulari: trium legionum legati, pares iure et prosperis Vitellii rebus certaturi ad obsequium, adversam eius fortunam ex aequo detrectabant. in Africa legio cohortesque delectae a Clodio Macro, mox a Galba dimissae, rursus iussu Vitellii militiam cepere; simul cetera iuventus dabat inpigre nomina. quippe integrum illic ac favorabilem proconsulatum Vitellius, famosum invisumque Vespasianus egerat: proinde socii de imperio utriusque coniectabant, sed experimentum contra fuit. XCVIII. Ac primo 98

He is informed of the coming attack.

The provincials are generally unwilling to support him.

Valerius Festus legatus studia provincialium cum fide iuvit; mox nutabat, palam epistulis edictisque Vitellium, occultis nuntiis Vespasianum fovens et haec illave defensurus, prout invaluissent. deprehensi cum litteris edictisque Vespasiani per Raetiam et Gallias militum et centurionum quidam ad Vitellium missi necantur: plures fefellere, fide amicorum aut suomet astu occultati. ita Vitellii paratus noscebantur, Vespasiani consiliorum pleraque ignota, primum socordia Vitellii; dein Pannonicae Alpes praesidiis insessae nuntios retinebant. mare quoque etesiarum flatu in Orientem navigantibus secundum,

99 inde adversum erat. XCIX. Tandem inruptione hostium atrocibus undique nuntiis exterritus Caecinam ac Valentem expedire ad bellum iubet. praemissus Caecina: Valentem e gravi corporis morbo tum primum adsurgentem infirmitas tardabat. longe alia proficiscentis ex urbe Germanici exercitus species: non vigor corporibus, non ardor animis; lentum et rarum agmen, fluxa arma, segnes equi; inpatiens solis pulveris tempestatum, quantumque hebes ad sustinendum laborem miles, tanto ad discordias promptior. accedebat huc Caecinae ambitio vetus, torpor recens nimia fortunae indulgentia soluti in luxum; seu perfidiam meditanti infringere exercitus virtutem inter artes erat. credidere plerique Flavii Sabini consiliis concussam Caecinae mentem, ministro sermonum Rubrio Gallo: rata apud Vespasianum fore pacta transitionis. simul odiorum invidiaeque erga Fabium Valentem admonebatur, ut inpar apud

Caecina sets out with a demoralized army to encounter the enemy,

Vitellium gratiam viresque apud novum principem pararet.

C. Caecina e complexu Vitellii multo cum honore **100**
digressus partem equitum ad occupandam Cremonam praemisit. mox vexilla primae, quartae, quintae decumae, sextae decumae legionum, dein quinta et duoetvicensima secutae; postremo agmine unaetvicensima Rapax et prima Italica incessere cum vexillariis trium Britannicarum legionum et electis auxiliis. profecto Caecina scripsit Fabius Valens exercitui, quem ipse ductaverat, ut in itinere opperiretur: sic sibi cum Caecina convenisse; qui praesens eoque validior mutatum id consilium finxit, ut ingruenti bello tota mole occurreretur. ita adcelerare legiones Cremonam, pars Hostiliam petere iussae: ipse Ravennam devertit praetexto classem adloquendi. mox Patavi secretum componendae proditionis quaesitum. namque Lucilius Bassus post praefecturam alae Ravennati simul ac Misenensi classibus a Vitellio praepositus, quod non statim praefecturam praetorii adeptus foret, iniquam iracundiam flagitiosa perfidia ulciscebatur. nec sciri potest, traxeritne Caecinam, an (quod evenit inter malos, ut et similes sint) eadem illos pravitas inpulerit.

and occupies Cremona.

He conspires with Bassus to desert Vitellius,

CI. Scriptores temporum, qui potiente **101**
rerum Flavia domo monimenta belli huiusce composuerunt, curam pacis et amorem rei publicae, corruptas in adulationem causas, tradidere. nobis super insitam levitatem et prodito Galba vilem mox fidem aemulatione etiam invidiaque,

probably from motives altogether selfish.

ne ab aliis apud Vitellium anteirentur, pervertisse ipsum Vitellium videntur. Caecina legiones adsecutus centurionum militumque animos obstinatos pro Vitellio variis artibus subruebat: Basso eadem molienti minor difficultas erat, lubrica ad mutandam fidem classe ob memoriam recentis pro Othone militiae.

NOTES.

LIBER I.

I.

3. **Octingentos et viginti**, in round numbers: the events described in this book, from ch. 12, belong to the first three months of 69 A.D.

5. **res populi Romani**, sc. the history of the republican period: as opposed to the time when all *ad unum conferebatur*. *Populus* has the same pregnant sense *A.* iv. 33, *cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt.*

7. **potentiam**: Augustus had not of course all the official power (*potestas*): but he had all the real control, cp. *interiorem potentiam* (2). *Potestas* sometimes means official power; sometimes, in a narrower sense, civil power, as opposed to the military *imperium.*

9. **inscitia** and *inscientia* are used by Tacitus indiscriminately: in Cicero *inscientia* is special, *inscitia* general ignorance.

11. **neutris cura**: Tacitus often omits past tenses of '*esse*' with a dat. of the person: cp. 10, *nec Vespasiano...votum*, 12, *paucis judicium.*

12. **inter infensos**. Tacitus uses this construction with *inter* as an equivalent for the Greek abl. abs. (τῶν μὲν ἐχθρῶν ὄντων κ.τ.λ.). Cp. 34, *credula fama inter gaudentes et incuriosos* (sc. *cum omnes gauderent et incuriosi essent*).

obnoxios means 'beholden' (cp. *fratris radiis obnoxia luna* in Virg.) and so 'servile.' For the first sense cp. ii. 56, *obnoxiis ducibus:* for the second, Liv. xxiii. 12, *si reticeam, aut superbus aut obnoxius videar.*

ambitionem. The word means, first, canvassing; secondly (and most commonly), any kind of popularity-seeking: cp. *A*. xv. 21, *vetita gratiarum actione ambitio cohibebitur*; thirdly, as here, flattery.

17. **dignitatem**: according to Nipperdey Tacitus was born about 54, and was quaestor 79-80, aedile or tribune 81-2, praetor 88.

20. **neque amore**, etc., sc. *neque amore quisquam et omnes sine odio*: cp. ii. 52.

22. **securiorem**: a subject not so '*periculosae plenum aleae*,' the same expression occurs *Dial.* 3.

It appears from these words that the Histories were published after Nerva's death.

II.

1. **opus...pace saevom**, 'the history of an age of dangers even in peace': cp. 50, *saevae pacis exempla.*

2. **quattuor principes**: Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, in 69; Domitian in 96.

5. **permixta**, 'contemporary': sc. the invasion of the Rhoxolani was contemporary with the outbreak of war between Otho and Vitellius; and the siege of Jerusalem with the war between Vitellius and the Flavians.

6. **Illyricum**: the reference is to the revolt from Vitellius of the legions quartered in Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia, which together are often called Illyricum: cp. ix. 76.

Galliae nutantes refers to the revolt of Civilis, who was joined by certain Gallic communities.

7. **Britannia** was conquered and incorporated in the empire by Agricola, but his successors did not maintain his conquests in Scotland, hence *missa.* Halm's text has *omissa.*

8. **Sarmatarum**: cp. 79. The Suevi mentioned here are a trans-Danubian settlement established by Drusus 19 A.D. They threatened the frontier *temp.* Domitian, with the Jazyges as their allies: cp. Dion Cassius, lxvii. 5.

9. **cladibus mutuis**, sc. the Dacians avenged the defeats inflicted on them by the Romans. Statius speaks of *deiectos vertice Dacos*, while we read (*Agric.* 41) of their defeating Roman armies.

10. **falsi Neronis.** Suetonius speaks of an impostor who was enthusiastically received by the Parthians in 88, another is mentioned ii. 8.

12. **haustae,** etc., is the reading of M. Wölfflin would read *hausta aut obruta fecundissima Camp. ora,* putting *urbes* in brackets: because, as Heräus says, 1. ablatives of this kind, when indistinguishable from nominatives, are not found in Tacitus; 2. the repetition of *urbes* and *urbi* is objectionable; 3. *fecundissima* with *urbes* is otiose: the destruction of a city would not be a greater calamity because its surroundings were fertile.

Haustae, by sea: *obrutae,* by Vesuvius.

13. **incendiis**: Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 7, mentions fires as one of the principal dangers which threatened residents in Rome. There was a destructive *incendium* in 80.

14. **Capitolio**: when the Capitol was taken by Vitellius' adherents, *v.* iii. 71.

15. **pollutae caerimoniae,** by Vestals who disregarded their vow.

magna adulteria, sc. in which persons of high rank were concerned. (This is Orelli's rendering, and is better than that of Heräus, who translates *magna* by 'terrible' or 'scandalous.') For this sense of *magnus* cp. Juv. v. 14, *fructus amicitiae magnae cibus* (friendship with the great); and *Hist.* ii. 53, *ut magnis inimicitiis claresceret.*

16. **scopuli**: the rocky islands which were the prisons of 'exiles' or *relegati, e.g.*, Seriphus and Gyarus in the Aegaean, Planasia in the Tyrrhene sea (where Postumus Agrippa was murdered, *v. A.* i. 7).

17. **omissi honores**: this is actually made a charge against a man in Domitian's time: D. C. lxvii. 13.

19. **praemia delatorum**: *A.* ii. 32, the property of Libo is divided among his accusers: those of them who are of senatorial rank are rewarded by praetorships. Mr. Mayor has a good note on *delatores* (Juv. iv.). *A.* iv. 30, they are called *genus hominum publico exitio repertum.*

21. **procurationes,** lit., agencies: the accusers are made *procuratores Caesaris.* There were three kinds of *procuratores,* all belonging to the *equestris ordo,* and generally selected from the imperial freedmen:—1. those who administered the smaller provinces (cp. i. 11, *quaeque aliae procuratoribus cohibentur*); 2. those who controlled the entire finance in

imperial provinces, or certain departments of finance—especially the *aerarium militare*—in the other parts of the empire; 3. *procuratores rei privatae* or *fisci*, who managed the imperial household. (Nipperdey on *A.* xii. 60.) That *procuratores* had sometimes the right of jurisdiction appears from *A.* xii. 60, *audita vox principis, parem vim rerum habendam a procuratoribus suis judicatarum ac si ipse statuisset.*

interiorem, 'at court.'

22. **agerent verterent**, probably should mean 'held absolute sway,' being a traditional or conventional phrase like '*agere ferre.*' They ruled with a power which excited hatred and alarm. Heräus would make *verterent* stronger than *agerent:* 'they caused commotion, nay ruin': and *vertere* would bear this sense; cp. iii. 61, *versa fides.*

24. **per amicos**: cp. Juv. iii. 116, *Stoicus occidit Baream, delator amicum.*

III.

3. **comitatae**: observe the common omission of the copula: we should translate 'there were instances in which,' etc.

4. **secutae maritos**: as Fannia the wife of Helvidius Priscus twice accompanied her husband into exile.

8. **ipsa necis necessitas**: *ipsa necessitas* is reading of M. Heräus reads *ipsae neces:* he says *supr. necessit.* means 'the last stern necessities,' *ipsae neces* 'death itself.' If ms. reading is maintained the sense is 'men had to meet their doom: that doom they did meet bravely.'

10. **caelo terraque**: this local ablat. is a construction borrowed from poetical usage, and frequent in Tacitus: cp. 55, *suggestu*, 68, *medio.*

13. **iusta indicia**, 'sufficient proofs.'

14. **non esse**, etc., 'that the gods were less solicitous for our happiness than the punishment of our crimes.' For the thought cp. Lucan iv. 807:

> "Felix Roma quidem civesque habitura beatos,
> si libertatis superis tam cura placeret
> quam vindicta placet."

IV.

1. **repetendum,** sc. I must recal attention to an earlier time.

3. **quis habitus**: cp. *A*. i. 48, *quis finis*.

4. **in toto orbe** as distinguished from '*toto orbe*' seems to mean 'at any given point in the different parts of the world': without the preposition the meaning would be 'over the whole extent of the world.'

6. **fortuiti**: isolated incidents are governed by blind chance, at any rate in relation to their immediate causes: but the general course of history is guided by certain fixed laws and principles.

8. **gaudentium impetu**: a good instance of the way in which an English abstract substantive is rendered by the Latin participle: so in the *Agric.*, *inlecebrae peccantium* = temptations of vice.

Laetus is used here, as often, in the sense of *laetitiae causa*.

9. **urbanum militem** here, as in 5, means all the soldiers in Rome, not the *cohortes urbanae* only.

11. **imperii arcano** is used in a different sense from *arcana imperii* (*A*. ii. 36). Here what is meant is the secret of succession.

alibi quam Romae: Tacitus often uses *quam* where Cicero would use *ac* or *atque*: cp. *aeque quam*, ii. 84.

13. **ut erga principem**: both Tacitus and Cicero often employ *ut* in the sense of 'as is natural,' 'as one would expect' (like ὡς in Greek). In Tacitus it is generally followed by a preposition: cp. i. 34, *ut in magnis mendaciis*.

14. **primores equitum**: the *equites inlustres* (*A*. ii. 59) or *insignes* (*A*. xi. 5). These were members of the equestrian order who possessed the senatorial census of 1,000,000 *sesterces*.

pars populi integra, that is, the respectable middle class, including the clients or employés of great families.

17. **circo ac theatris**: cp. Juv. x. 80, *duas tantum res anxius optat, Panem et Circenses*.

18. **per dedecus N. alebantur**, sc. they subsisted on Nero's bounty, and disgraced him.

V.

1. **longo C. sacramento imbutus,** 'long accustomed to swear allegiance to the Caesars.'

3. **arte et inpulsu,** 'pressure craftily employed': the expression is a kind of hendiadys.

4. **donativum**: a largess of 7500 drachmae per man had been promised by Nymphidius Sabinus, who pretended that Nero meditated flight from Rome into Egypt (Plutarch).

7. **praeventam gratiam,** sc. *praeventos se esse in gratia;* others had been beforehand with them in winning the imperial favour. This is a bold use of *praevenire*, of which there appears to be no other instance. The construction is something like that of *cessati agri* in Ovid (sc. *agri in quibus agricolae cessaverant*).

9. **N. Sabini**: *v.* Introd.

12. **plerisque**, 'many,' as often in Tacitus.

13. **senium**: Galba was seventy-four.

19. **pro re p. honesta,** etc., sc. it was creditable to him as an emperor, but dangerous to him as a man.

20. **nec enim ad hanc formam,** etc., 'his general conduct did not accord with words like these.' This is on the whole the best rendering: the words thus form an introduction to the details of Galba's régime in the next chapter. Another meaning suggested is 'the expression was an anachronism' (cp. 18, *severitas cui iam pares non sumus*), and certainly *enim* has more force thus.

VI.

1. **Vinius**: for his character *v.* ch. 48; according to Suetonius he was *cupiditatis immensae.*

Laco, according to Suetonius, was *arrogantia socordiaque intolerabilis;* cp. 24.

2. **odio flagitiorum,** etc., is generally supposed to mean, 'they ruined his character, because he was blamed for the crimes of the one and the supineness of the other.' The full expression then would be *odio flagitiorum alter onerabat, alter contemptu inertiae destruebat*: it is a condensed phrase

like *in primam postremamve aciem prorumpebant aut relabebantur* (ii. 41). But it is also possible, and perhaps better, to translate, 'Galba bore the burden of their crimes, and was despised for his supineness in tolerating them.'

4. **tardum iter** : Galba left Spain early in July and reached Rome in September.

6. **Turpiliano**, known as a not unsuccessful governor of Britain under Nero.

8. **tanquam innocentes**, 'executed because they were innocent' (Orelli); but this implies too pessimistic a view of Galba's character. Heräus translates 'as if innocent,' *i.e.*, they were commonly thought to be innocent. Probably *tanquam* refers to *indefensi:* they were so secure in their innocence that they did not attempt a defence.

9. **trucidatis tot milibus** : *v.* Introd.

11. **legione Hispana**, the *septima Galbiana*, raised by Galba in Spain. It was afterwards united by Vespasian with the *prima Germanica*, when the legion so formed was called *Gemina.*

ea quam e classe : Nero had formed this legion out of the *élite* of the ἐπιβάται, or marines. It was variously called *prima classica*, *prima Adjutrix*, *prima classicorum.* It was not the men of this legion, but their former comrades (the remaining marines) who were decimated by Galba.

13. **numeri**, 'detachments'; it is a generic word including all such terms as *vexilla*, *cohortes*, *alae.*

15. **Caspiarum**, sc. *portarum:* a pass between Media and Hyrcania leading to the S.W. coast of the Caspian Sea. Pliny, *N. H.* 6. 11, calls it *portae Caucasiae ;* the *portae Caspiae*, properly so called, being S. of the Caspian, N. of Teheran.

16. **Vindex** : *v.* Introd.

17. **ut...ita**, 'although...yet' : as often in Tacitus ; cp. next chapter. *Sicut...ita* is sometimes used in the same way.

prono favore, sc. not showing a decided preference for any one side ; cp. 13, *prona in eum aula.*

VII.

2. **Macer** was governor of Africa, and so held the keys of one of Rome's principal granaries. He attempted to make

himself master of the situation by preventing the sailing of corn-ships, and so starving the city out.

Capito, governor of Lower Germany.

3. **turbantem,** used intransitively, as 85, *militibus nihil in commune turbantibus.*

8. **foedum ac maculosum,** a combination occurring again ii. 30; cp. 52, *sordes et avaritia F. Capitonis.*

10. **nequiverint**: Tacitus often combines past tenses in *orat. obl.* with the present and (as here) perfect subjunctive. Cicero avoids this usage altogether; but it is found in Caesar and Livy.

11. **dolum**, sc. the plot against his life.

ultro, with Tacitus, generally implies that something happens beyond or even contrary to expectation; often that the tables are turned, the condition of things exactly reversed. Hence, if one word is to translate it, 'actually' is often adequate; cp. 9, *infirmitate retinentis ultro accendebantur*, 'his efforts to check them were so feeble as to be actually an incentive to violence'; 41, *obtulit ultro jugulum*, 'so far was he from shrinking that, of his own accord, he offered his neck to the blow'; 71, *exemplum ultro imputavit*, 'far from denying his loyalty he actually made a merit of it.' In the present passage the sense is, that the order of things was reversed; the conspirators accuse Capito of their own crimes; the defendant becomes a plaintiff.

12. **an**, 'or perhaps,' a meaning which it frequently bears in Tacitus.

15. **perniciem**: M. *p̃minuit la.* Halm reads *parem invidiam.* Orelli reads *inviso semel principe seu bene seu male facta premunt. iam adferebant venalia*, etc., but this involves an impossible use of the ablative absolute.

17. **subitis avidae**, 'greedily taking advantage of their sudden elevation': cp. v. 15, *prosperis feroces.*

tanquam apud senem, 'as was natural at the court of an aged emperor,' ὡς γέροντος βασιλεύοντος. *Tanquam* is used by Tacitus exactly like ὡς, to express the thought in the mind of the agent, the reason he gives himself for action.

18. **eadem mala**, sc. the same evils as before.

VIII.

1. **tanquam**, 'as far as could be seen, considering the size

of the population' (Heräus); 'as might be expected in so large a population' (Orelli). The latter seems the best rendering; it is equivalent to *ὡς ἐν πλήθει τοσούτῳ*.

3. **Hispaniae**, Tarraconensi.

4. **C. Rufus**, one of the historians of the period; he was consul in the reign of Caligula and a prominent member of Nero's court. Probably his *historiae* embraced the period from Caligula to Vitellius. He is occasionally mentioned by Tacitus as a source of information, *e.g.*, *A.* xiii. 20, *Plinius et Cluvius...referunt.* For the part he played in 69, cp. i. 76; ii. 58. 65.

pacis artibus is ablative of quality: cp. *A.* i. 27, *is ante alios aetate et gloria belli. Bellis* is ablative on the analogy of *lascivia inexperti*, *A.* xvi. 5; but Dräger thinks it is a dative.

Rufus was more of a statesman than a general.

5. **super memoriam V.**, 'besides that they cherished the memory of Vindex' (who was fighting for Galba).

6. **recenti dono R. civitatis.** Individual Gauls had already, under Claudius, received full civic rights. But not till now had any Gallic community been *publice donata* (51) with the franchise, which was now granted to those states which had joined Vindex.

7. **levamentum**, 'abatement' (of ¼).

9. **pari dolore...metiebantur**, 'they viewed with equal indignation the measure of,' etc.; cp. 53.

12. **metu tanquam**, 'they feared to be punished for having taken sides against Galba. *Tanquam* = because, as they knew: cp. 7.

IX.

1. **superior exercitus**, composed of three legions, the *quarta Macedonica*, *unetvicesima Rapax*, *duoetvicesima primigenia.* Their headquarters were at Mainz, and Windisch in the canton of Aargau.

H. Flaccus, *legatus pro praetore*; described 56, as *segnis, pavidus.*

4. **adeo** here introduces an *a fortiori* fact; its general

use is to introduce a statement which either justifies or is itself justified by what precedes. Cp. iv. 80, *aequalium quoque, adeo superiorum intolerantis*, 'he could not endure an equal, and so much less a superior'; or Juv. iii. 272,

> "Possis ignavus haberi
> et subiti casus improvidus ad caenam si
> intestatus eas. Adeo tot fata, tot illa
> nocte patent vigiles te praetereunte fenestrae."

In Cicero *adeo* sometimes means 'nay more': *Verr.* ii. 3, *adducitur atque adeo attrahitur.*

5. **ultro**: cp. 7.

inferioris Germ. legiones: I. Germanica (at Bonn), V. Alauda, XV. Primigenia (at Vetera near Wesel), XVI. Gallica (at Novaesium, Neuss).

6. **sine consulari**, after Capito's death.

A. Vitellius: this is the first mention of the future emperor.

donec is used by Tacitus indiscriminately with indicative or subjunctive, but apparently nowhere else with the imperfect indicative.

8. **id satis videbatur**, sc. to Galba, who thought the soldiers would be pacified by the arrival of a commander of such good family.

Brit. exercitu: composed of the legions II. Augusta, IX. Hispania, XX. Valeria.

9. **nihil irarum**: the outbreak mentioned in ch. 60 seems to have been due to the quarrels of their superiors rather than to any mutinous spirit among the men.

12. **Illyrico**: the legions were the XIII. Gemina and (later) VII. Galbiana in Pannonia: XI. Claudia, XIV. Gemina Martia Victrix in Dalmatia: VII. Claudia, VIII. Augusta, III. Gallica in Moesia.

13. **excitae**, sc. they had marching orders (against Vindex): cp. ii. 66, *exciti.*

14. **cunctantur.** Classen reads *cunctatur*, which makes better sense: as the legions do not appear to have left Illyricum. Nero's hesitation to march against Vindex apparently suggested to the soldiers that Verginius' star would be in the ascendant.

17. **nec vitiis nec viribus**, sc. they were not contaminated by each other's vices, nor could they unite their strength.

X.

2. **quattuor legiones**: III. Gallica, IV. Scythica, VI. Ferrata, XII. Fulminata. The first however was now in Moesia: cp. 79.

3. **Mucianus**, thrice consul: since 67 he had governed the consular province of Syria.

4. **iuxta**, 'equally': as often in Tacitus.

famosus, 'notable': in Cicero the word more frequently means 'notorious.'

4. **insignes amicitias**, 'friendship with distinguished persons'; cp. 2, *magna adulteria.*

5. **Ambitiose** practically means 'with ambitious designs.'

6. **Claudii iracundia**, probably because of his relations with Messalina.

7. **secretum Asiae**, perhaps Lycia, of which Muc. is mentioned by Pliny as *legatus*. *Repositus* is the reading of M.; but *sepositus* is a word often used in this connection by Tacitus: cp. 13, (*Othonem*) *specie legationis in provinciam seposuit.*

9. **artibus** means 'qualities,' as often in Sallust and Tacitus. **mixtus**: he was a combination of good and bad. Cp. *Agric.* 4, *locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum.*

10. **vacaret**. Writers of the silver age prefer the subjunctive in clauses expressing 'indefinite frequency,' where Cicero and Caesar would use the indicative: cp. 49, *ubi in bonos incidisset.*

expedierat = *ad bellum profectus erat*: cp. 88, *multos...secum expedire jubet* (Otho, when setting out for the seat of war). Halm reads *se expedierat*, unnecessarily.

11. **palam**, 'his outward behaviour' (τὰ ἐν ὄμμασιν): the adverb is used adjectivally: cp. *A.* xiii. 6, *honestis an secus amicis;* and *deinceps reges* (Livy).

male audiebant, *κακῶς ἤκουεν.*

12. **collegas**, the governors of adjacent provinces.

13. **et cui**, etc. For the form of the sentence (a relative clause taking the place of an epithet) cp. Juv. iii. 49, *quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius et cui fervens aestuet occultis animus semperque tacendis?*

16. **tribus legionibus**: V. Macedonica, X. Fretensis, XV. Apollinaris.

19. **occulta fati**, etc., a kind of hendiadys: 'the revelation of the secrets of fate.'

21. **post fortunam**, 'after his elevation to power': cp. ii. 59, *fortuna principalis.*

XI.

2. **copiasque**: legiones XXII. Deiotariana and III. Cyrenaica.

quibus coerceretur, 'intended to preserve order.'

3. **loco regum**: the *eques* held the position occupied formerly by the dependent kings of Egypt. This governing *eques*, though endowed with full powers, was a servant of the emperor and not an ordinary provincial governor: in rank he was the equal of the *procuratores* who administered smaller provinces. Tacitus says (*A.* ii. 59) that Augustus, recognizing the importance of Egypt as one of the storehouses of Rome, jealously guarded the country by forbidding senators or *equites* to enter it without special permission.

6. **insciam legum**: accustomed to an absolute monarchy, the Egyptians could not be governed according to strictly Roman ideas.

7. **domi retinere**, sc. *domui Caesarum peculiarem servare*, by making the governor a servant of the emperor. Halm reads *domui.*

T. Alexander: an Egyptian Jew. We hear of him in ii. 79 as one of the first adherents of Vespasian.

9. **legiones** is the ms. reading, and the plural might, without much difficulty, precede the singular *contenta* (ms.), the word agreeing with *Africa* and *ac legiones* being a kind of parenthesis. There was now one Roman legion (III. Augusta) in Africa, *i.e.*, E. Algeria. But Cl. Macer had raised a body of national troops: cp. ii. 97, *cohortes delectae a Clodio Macro;* and there are coins which bear the names of two legions, III. Augusta and Macriana Liberatrix.

10. **domini minoris**: Macri.

11. **duae Mauritaniae**, the western province (Tingitana) and the eastern (Caesariensis). Mauritania was a kingdom till A.D. 41, when its king Ptolemaeus was put to death by Caligula: the country was then divided into two imperial provinces.

12. **procuratoribus**, in smaller provinces: cp. 2. Writers of the silver age use the dative of the agent habitually: by Cicero and Caesar its use is limited to cases where the action is directly in the interest of the doer: *e.g.*, *ad Att.* i. 19. 4, *suspicor Pompeio novam quandam potentiam quaeri.*

15. **inermes prov.**, *i.e.*, the senatorial provinces or some of those governed by *procuratores:* cp. ii. 81, *inermes legati.*

16. **cuicumque**, in the silver age sometimes as here equivalent to *cuivis:* cp. 15, *adsentatio erga quemcumque principem.*

XII.

1. **kal. Ian.** of 69. The legions only declared themselves Jan. 1.

2. **procuratoris**: here, the finance officer.

4. **rupta reverentia**: cp. Liv. xxviii. 27, *rumpere religionem.* Elsewhere the expression used is *exuere reverentiam.*

8. **agitantis**, 'considering,' 'debating': cp. iv. 59, *de supremis agitantem.*

non sane: from these words there is a parenthetical preface to the end of 13, where the story is resumed.

11. **fessa aetate**: cp. *A.* i. 46, *Augustum fessa aetate.*

iudicium, 'sober conviction': cp. 32, *neque illis iudicium aut veritas.*

12. **prout quis amicus**, etc., sc. they spread rumours about the elevation of some friend or patron.

13. **ambitiosis**, 'interested': it was for their interest that the reports which they circulated should be true.

14. **in T. Vini odium**, 'to gratify their hatred of Vinius': cp. Ov. *Met.* xiv. 71, *in Circes odium sociis spoliavit Ulixem.*

15. **auctu**: M. has *actu*, of which the meaning is much the same.

quippe, etc. 'Galba's very easiness of temper whetted the appetite of his courtiers, caused by their elevation to power: his weakness and credulity lessened the danger while it increased the reward of crime': cp. Cic. *in Verr.* ii. 2. 134, *hiante avaritia.*

XIII.

2. **Vinium...Laconem...Icelo**: these three were called Galba's *paedagogi* (Suetonius).

divisa in, 'divided between': cp. iii. 58, *curam delectus in consules partitur:* Plaut. *Aul.* i. 2. 30, *dividere nummos in viros.*

4. **anulis**, sc. the golden ring, the sign of equestrian rank: cp. ii. 57, *honoravit Asiaticum anulis.*

5. **Marcianum**: Μαρκιάνος Ἴκελος, Plut. 9. 7.

6. **rebus minoribus**: earlier writers would say *in rebus:* cp. 7, *subitis avidae. Sibi,* sc. each was guided by his own interest.

7. **circa**, 'with respect to': a meaning confined to the Latin of the silver age: cp. *A.* xi. 15, *publica circa bonas artes socordia.*

13. **vidua**, 'unmarried,' not necessarily widowed: cp. Liv. i. 46.

14. **subisse**, sc. *mentem Galbae:* he thought it would be useless to have deposed a Nero only to make room for an Otho.

16. **incuriose**, in indolence: **petulanter**, in vice.

17. **eo** in the Latin of the empire often means 'for that reason': cp. 27, *eo prius exploranda.*

19. **deposuerat**: *v.* Suetonius, *Otho* 3.

20. **amoliretur**, 'get rid of': cp. *A.* ii. 42, *amoliri iuvenem statuit.*

21. **Lusitaniam**: although that province was generally governed by *praetorii*, and Otho was only *quaestorius.*

22. **in partes**, sc. *Galbae.*

24. **spem acrius rapiebat**, 'eagerly indulged the hope.'

XIV.

Here the thread of the story is taken up afresh.

3. **quonam vis erumperet**: cp. Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 21, *quonam dominatio sit eruptura.*

6. **comitia imperii**, 'imperial election,' *i.e.*, the choice of a successor: on the analogy of *comitia consularia*, etc.

7. **Celso**: a faithful adherent of Galba and afterwards of Otho (cp. 71). His high character seems to have gained for him not only security but distinction in these troublous times, notwithstanding the prominent part that he played. In 63 he was *legatus legionis*, and *iterum consul* as late as 105: *his armis illa quoque tutus in aula.*

8. **D. Gemino**: known as one of three commissioners appointed by Nero in 62 to manage the provincial revenues.

9. **Pisonem**: his full name was Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus. He was son of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, and by his mother Scribonia connected with the Pompeii: his father by adoption was L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.

11. **Rub. Plautus**: whom Juv., viii. 39, addresses as a type of the highborn *fainéant: Tecum est mihi sermo, Rubelli Plaute: tumes alto Drusorum stemmate, tamquam feceris ipse aliquid propter quod nobilis esses,*' etc.

13. **prospera**, 'favouring.'

16. **ex aestimatione recta** = *recte aestimantibus.*

deterius interpretantibus, 'those who took a less favourable view.'

18. **quo suspectior...adoptanti placebat**, sc. *eo magis placebat.* Tacitus and Livy generally either use *quo* with comparative and *eo* with positive, or omit *eo* altogether: as ii. 11. 'That side of his character which made him an object of suspicion and anxiety to some, was a recommendation to Galba.'

XV.

3. **lege curiata.** Adoption of adults (*arrogatio*) could theoretically be only ratified by the *curiae*, summoned by the *Pontifices.* Since 286 B.C. the *curiae*, being politically abolished, had been represented at the ceremony by 30 lictors.

4. **moris**, 'customary.'

5. **egregium erat**: the apodosis is in the indicative, being by itself true without reference to the protasis. 'It is a distinguished honour to,' etc., 'and that honour would be mine': cp. 16, *si immensum imperii corpus stare sine rectore posset, dignus eram,* etc. Cp. also Plaut. *Trin.* 119, *operam dare fuerat aequius.*

7. **Lutatiae**: Galba being on his mother's side descended from Q. Lutatius Catulus.

11. **maiores nostri**: Galba's father was a Caesarian, Calpurnius Piso a prominent Pompeian: and Pompeius himself was an ancestor of Piso.

13. **Marcellum**: the *miserandus puer* of the sixth book of the *Aeneid.* He was the son of Octavia and Claudius Marcellus, and husband of Augustus' daughter Julia.

18. **neque ipse imperium ambitione accepi**, sc. I was not elected by favour, apart from merit, but *ab aestimantibus* (16). 'Mon élection n'a pas été un arrangement de famille' (Burnouf). It was not a job, as we should say.

The thought is:—I might have chosen a successor from my own family: but I have preferred to act otherwise, because, 1. I was not elected in that way myself; 2. I have so high an opinion of your merit.

19. **documentum sit**: the *copula* takes the number of the predicate sometimes when the subject is an abstract idea or can be equally well expressed by a *quod* clause, as here: the equivalent would be *quod meas necessit. tibi postposui'*: cp. Cic. *ad Fam.* vi. 12, *est unum perfugium doctrina ac litterae.*

21. **frater**: Crassus Scribonianus.

25. **adversam**: cp. 48.

30. **pessimum veri**, etc., 'self-interest, the bane of sincerity.'

31. **etiam utilitas. ego**, etc. M. has *utilitas. etiam. Et iam ego* (Puteol.) gives a good sense: *i.e.*, 'not only will this be true in the future: now, this moment, we are surrounded by flatterers.' Halm reads, *etiam si ego.*

35. **quemcumque**: cp. 11.

sine affectu, sc. flattery requires no feeling.

XVI.

2. **res publica**, here 'republican' or 'constitutional form of government.'

12. **ultra aestimatur**, etc., sc. if a man is born in the purple he is accepted as a ruler, without farther consideration of merit or demerit: but in adoption we are free to exercise our

judgment and choose the best man. *Sit ante oculos Nero* refers back to *nec tua juventa quam bonum principem:* remember Nero, who was ruined by his own vices, in spite of his hereditary right to the throne: how much more keenly criticized shall we be, who have been elected for our merits!

15. **una legio**: VI. Victrix.

19. **cum invidia**: Cicero would say *in invidia.*

20. **duae legiones**: cp. 12.

27. **utilissimus idem**, etc., sc. you will rule best by trying to put yourself in your subjects' place: absolute despotism without consideration for the feelings of others is here impossible.

30. **quae regnantur**: cp. *Aen.* vi. 794, and *A.* xiii. 54, *in quantum Germani regnantur.*

XVII.

2. **statim intuentibus**, sc. *paucis statim intuentibus et mox omnium oculis conjectis. nihil in voltu:* Plutarch says ἀνεμπλήκτως ἐδέχετο.

5. **de se**: as if *Piso* was the subject of the sentence.

8. **in castris**: the praetorian camp established by Tiberius to the N.E. of the city (on the site of which are the modern barracks).

10. **ut...male adquiri**: in *orat. obl. ut* in the sense of 'as' is frequently followed by the accusative and infinitive. Even Cicero once uses this construction: *pro Cluent.* 132, *ut mare ventorum vi agitari.*

13. **publica expectatio**: a phrase curiously at variance with the usual tendency of Latin to employ concrete where we use abstract words: cp. ii. 46, *non exspectavit militum ardor vocem imperatoris.*

14. **supprimentes**, 'by attempted contradiction.'

XVIII.

2. **quartum Idus**: an imperfect inscription appears to commemorate Piso's adoption on this day.

4. **observatum** does not seem to be used in a technical sense, like *servare* in the phrase *servare de caelo;* but means simply 'such phenomena had once been carefully regarded, and led to the dissolution of the comitia: but now,' etc.: cp. Cic. *de Divin.* ii. 43, *Jove tonante fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas.* Piso's adoption was a case in point: Plutarch says *ἐβρόντησε καὶ κατήστραψεν.*

6. **contemptorem**, etc. Notice the change of construction from an attribute to a complete sentence: cp. *A.* xiii. 15, *venenum accepit tramisitque...parum validum, sive temperamentum inerat.* Either Galba regarded all as mere chance, or he was a fatalist.

9. **exemplo...et more**: *more...et exemplo*, M. According to the ancient method of levying troops, one man was first chosen, and in his turn chose a comrade, who selected another, and so on.

11. **ultro adseverat**: he was not content to ignore the mutiny, but actually contradicted the reports about it.

12. **quartam et duoetv. legiones**: in cases like this there is in Latin the same variety as in English: we can say the 4th and 22nd legion or legions. Tacitus prefers to use the plural.

Duoetvicesima is everywhere the reading of M.: Orelli always alters it (I do not know why) to *duodevicesima.*

13. **in officio fore**='return to their allegiance.'

17. **tanquam...perdidissent**, sc. they saw that they had lost it.

usurpatam etiam in pace: *e.g.*, a largess is given on the occasion of Nero's assuming the *toga virilis*: *A.* xii. 41.

XIX.

5. **multi voluntate**, etc.: the construction proceeds as if *favor aderat* were *favebant.* 'Many really wished him well: his enemies were foremost in proffering their homage: those who were neither friends nor foes—the majority—met him with spontaneous flattery.' The meaning 'spontaneous' for *obvius* is justified by *obvia comitas*, *A.* ii. 2. The ms. reading is *multi voluntate effusius qui noluerant medie*, but *medie* is not found elsewhere in Tacitus.

effusius, *avec empressement*. For *medii* cp. iv. 8, *mediis patrum adnitentibus retinere morem.*

6. **spes agitantes**, sc. thinking only of their own prospects.

9. **in publico** = *palam*, in the sight of all men : cp. 86, *rapti e publico plerique*. This use of *publicum* is not unknown to Cicero and Caesar : cp. *in Verrem* ii. 4, *jacui et pernoctavi in publico.*

14. **maiore praetexto** : sc. the deputation would be more imposing were the dignity of a member of the imperial house united with the senate's authority. *Praetextus* = πρόσχημα : Louandre translates *solennité*. *Illi* is really a nominative absolute, attracted or supported by *hic...laturus:* one would expect *cum illi auctoritatem senatus...laturi essent, hic dignationem Caesaris.*

17. **consilio intercessit**, 'raised objections to the plan.'

20. **ambitu**, sc. the use of illicit or personal influence, in order to gain permission to go or stay.

XX.

The investigations and troubles described in this chapter of course date from a time much anterior to Piso's election, as the events related could not possibly have taken place within the three days which intervened between his adoption and his death. We can only suppose that Tacitus mentions the financial difficulty here because it increased Galba's unpopularity, and thereby led to Otho's accession ; but, from whatever cause, he has chosen to speak of it as not arising till after January 11. (Or is the historian describing a state of things which began now and continued through the reign of Otho ?)

4. **bis et vicies milies**, 2,200,000,000 *sest.* = about £20,000,000. A good deal of money must have gone out of Italy besides : *e.g.*, Nero τῇ Πυθίᾳ δέκα μυριάδας ἔδωκεν (D.C.) : this particular sum, however, Galba recovered : cp. also Plut. ix. 16.

7. **relicta** : notice the ablative absolute describing something subsequent to the action of the principal verb : 'intending to leave them,' etc : cp. 2, *urbs incendiis vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris.*

super... erant : *tmesis*, as in *Aen.* ii. 567, *jamque adeo super unus eram.*

8. **erga aliena**: so (*A*. iv. 20) *diligentia erga pecuniam* These favoured persons were as lavish of Nero's gifts (*aliena*) as they had been of their own money: Plutarch calls them as a class ἐφημέροι καὶ σατυρικοὶ τοῖς βίοις.

10. **faenus**, 'capital,' as *A*. vi. 17, *duas quinque fenoris partes in agris per Italiam collocaret.*

11. **instrumenta**, slaves, etc.

triginta: Suetonius says 50. **numero**, the number of those from whom money was to be exacted.

13. **ambitu**, 'extent of their power' (Orelli). But it probably means 'intrigue,' *i.e.*, the intrigues of the recipients of Nero's bounty, in order to elude the commission.

onerosum, to the public in general.

hasta, the symbol employed at state sales of property, and so used at sales which, as here, were enforced by the state-appointed commission.

sector: *sectores vocantur qui publica bona mercantur* (Gaius). The word is applicable here on the same grounds as *hasta.* For the origin of the expression *v.* Mayor's note on Cicero *Phil.* ii. 39.

14. **auctionibus**: M. has *actionibus;* sc. trials, *cognitiones.*

18. **urbanae cohortes**, the three cohorts which ordinarily garrisoned Rome.

19. **vigiliae**, otherwise called *cohortes vigilum:* there were seven, forming the town fire brigade.

20. **formidinem**, M. Halm reads *formidine.*

XXI.

3. **luxuria etiam principi onerosa**: Suetonius (*O*. 5) says, *neque enim dissimulabat nisi principem se stare non posse, nihilque referre ab hoste in acie an in foro sub creditoribus caderet.* Otho was πεντακισχιλίων μυριάδων ὀφλήμασι βεβαπτισμένος ("dipped," in fact), according to Plutarch, *G*. 21.

5. **fingebat et metum**, 'he pretended to fear, in order to give himself an additional incentive to ambition.'

6. **praegravem**, 'inconvenient.'

7. **Lusitaniam**: cp. 13.

9. **qui proximus destinaretur**, sc. by public opinion.

12. **occidi Othonem posse**: Heräus puts these words in brackets, after Ritter and Urlichs, who suppose them to be a gloss. They are in all the mss.

proinde here, as usual, introduces a call to action made necessary by a given situation: cp. 56, *proinde aut bellandum*, etc.

13. **dum G. auctoritas fluxa**: *esset* is only omitted by Tacitus (except in indirect questions, when it is as often omitted as not) when it is followed by another subjunctive in the same construction: as by *coaluisset* here.

14. **coaluisset**: cp. iv. 55, *coalita libertas.*

15. **transitus rerum**, 'the moment of the transfer of power.'

XXII.

2. **animus**: Plutarch, *G.* 25, calls him ἰταμὸς πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἄτρεστος.

3. **quam in privata domo**=*quam pro pr. domo*, 'than beseemed the house of a private citizen.'

4. **adulteria matrimonia**, M. Halm reads *adultera matrimonia.* Ritter and Urlichs would omit *matrimonia* on the ground that it is a gloss interpolated after *adulteria:* which does not seem likely.

7. **ut aliena exprobrabant**, 'taunted him with another's possession of them.'

8. **mathematicis**, 'astrologers': also called Chaldaei, as *A.* ii. 27. We hear of their expulsion, ii. 62, *pulsi Italia mathematici:* and *A.* ii. 32, *facta et de mathematicis magisque Italia pellendis SCta.* They were often tools of the *delatores:* cp. the story of Libo in the *Annals* (ii. 27). [On the subject of astrologers at Rome *v.* Mayor's note on Juv. xiv. 248].

novos motus, 'changes.'

10. **potentibus infidum**, 'not to be relied on by the great.'

12. **secreta Poppaeae**: the astrologers had shared the secret counsels of Poppaea. They are called contemptuously *instrumentum*, part of the vilest furniture of the palace: *instrumentum* generally means the furniture of a house, or the inanimate stock or 'plant' on a farm.

14. **Ptolemaeus**: Suet., *O.* 4, calls him Seleucus: but probably confuses him with Vespasian's astrologer Seleucus,

mentioned ii. 78. Plutarch agrees with Tacitus in the name Ptolemaeus.

Othoni comes, a common use of the dative in Tacitus and Livy, rare in earlier writers: cp. iii. 6, *Antonio comes*.

16. **coniectura iam et rumore**, a kind of hendiadys: 'basing his conjectures on the common talk about Galba's age.'

XXIII.

1. **nec deerat** is closely connected with *sceleris instinctor*: 'nor was Ptolemaeus slow to incite his master to crime.' *Non deesse* is used by Tacitus in four constructions: 1. as here; 2. as iii. 54, *nec duces hostium augendae famae deerant*; 3. as i. 36, *nec deerat Otho protendens manus adorare volgus*; 4. as *A*. xiv. 39, *nec defuit Polyclitus quo minus*, etc.

4. **repens** is a word found in Tacitus alone: in other authors *repentinus* is its equivalent. The sense is that the idea of crime may have been a late addition, conceived on the spur of the moment.

6. **in itinere, in agmine**: *in itinere*, on the way from Spain, whether with or apart from the men: *in agmine*, when marching with the column (Orelli). Nipperdey reads *in itinere et agmine*.

8. **Neron. comitatus**, 'their companionship under Nero's régime.'

14. **Achaiae**: the official name for the province of Greece. These praetorians had been accustomed to accompany Nero on his tour as an *artiste*, when, as Heräus says, they formed a regular *claque* for the crowned virtuoso. In order apparently to make his picture of the soldiers' discontent more complete and striking, Tacitus has chosen to speak of the luxurious *praetoriani* as if they had actually shared the hardships of the troops who escorted Galba from Spain: there is no reason to suppose that they were then with him.

16. Notice that *eniterentur* is properly only used with *Pyrenaeum et Alpes*: it governs *spatia* by zeugma.

XXIV.

2. **faces addiderat**, 'fired the fuel of their discontent.'

3. **Tigellini**: one of Nero's favourites and confidants. Juvenal (i. 55) takes this man as a type of the imperial favourite of whom it is dangerous to speak evil:

"Pone Tigellinum: taeda lucebis in illa
Qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant," etc.

On his character and death, *v.* 72.

6. **per speciem convivii**, etc. Nero had commuted the imperial *convivia publica* for a gift of money: and patrons in general adopted the practice of giving a small sum to their clients (*sportula*, 25 *asses* or 6¼ *sest.*, according to Martial and Juvenal, *passim*) in place of the hitherto customary meal. In the present instance Pudens chooses to consider himself under an obligation to give a dinner to the guard: and commutes this dinner for an extravagantly large gift of money—25 *denarii* or 1 *aureus*, about 17s. This is, so to speak, a *publica* or official *largitio*, because it is given in place of the necessary dinner.

The custom of placing soldiers on guard during dinner originated with Claudius: *ἔν τε τοῖς συμποσίοις πάντως τινὰς στρατιώτας συνόντας εἶχε, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξ ἐκείνου καταδειχθὲν καὶ δεῦρο ἀεὶ γίγνεται* (D. C. lx. 3).

10. **animosus**: cp. *animose emere* or *liceri*, to bid high.

11. **speculatores**: an imperial bodyguard chosen from the *praetorians*, called in Greek λογχοφόροι or δορυφόροι; *speculatorum lecta corpora*, ii. 11. Sometimes they were employed for carrying despatches: cp. ii. 73.

13. **per socordiam praefecti**, 'permitted to do so by the,' etc. *Per* often means 'with the consent of,' as in the phrase *per me licet*. Cp. Cic. *in Verr.* ii. 4. 61, *per senatum agere quae voluerant non potuerunt.*

XXV.

1. **tum**, *i.e.*, after Piso's adoption: Jan. 11 or 12, one may suppose.

2. **tesserarium**: *οὕτω καλοῦνται οἱ διαγγέλων καὶ διοπτήρων ὑπηρεσίας τελοῦντες* (Plut. *G.* 27). Among the duties seems to have been the announcing of the countersign (*tessera*). We may translate 'orderly.'

3. **optio** does not exactly correspond to any officer in the English army. He seems to have combined the functions of

paymaster, lieutenant, and adjutant. According to Festus and Vegetius he is a subaltern who represents the *decurio* or *centurio* in case of necessity. We may translate 'lieutenant.'

6. **manipulares.** The Roman soldier is called *manipularis*, as belonging to the maniple or century, and is thereby distinguished from the officers of the cohort or legion, from centurion upwards. *Gregarius*, on the other hand, is the term for privates.

suscepere: it is said—with what truth I do not know—that Tacitus uses the form in *erunt* for the present, *ere* for the aoristic signification of the perfect.

8. **suspensos**, undecided, *μετεώρους*.

9. **primores militum**, who would correspond more or less to English non-commissioned officers.

10. **Nymphidi**: Galba would suspect them, as having got promotion from Nymphidius.

11. **desperatione...donativi**, sc. *amissa spe d.*

13. **in commune**, 'alike,' as often in Tacitus. *mutandae militiae*, lest they should be drafted into the legions and so sent to the provinces.

XXVI.

1. **ea tabes**: 'the infection of mutiny spread to the legions.'

2. **legionum**: there was really only one legion, with detachments from two others.

4. **etiam apud integros dissimulatio**: sc. even those who had no grudge against Galba were prepared to shut their eyes to the active disaffection of others. *dissimulatio* often = intentional ignoring; as iv. 8, *primos Civilis conatus per dissimulationem aluit.*

5. **postero Iduum die**: the reading of M. is *dierum*, but the last syllable may have originated in the *re* of *redeuntem*. According to Halm and Heräus *Ian.* should precede *die*. Reading them *postero Id. Jan. die* Heräus understands it to mean 'the next day, that is, the Ides' (the 13th). But 'next' to what? we have no antecedent date sufficiently definite for *postero* to refer to it. It seems best then to translate 'the day after the Ides,' the 14th, xix. Kal. Febr. That it is possible so to translate is rendered probable by Halm's (Latin)

note on Cic. *pro Sulla* 18. Tacitus' chronological arrangement is not so careful, but that *multa erumpentis seditionis indicia per conscios oppressa* may be referred to the whole period between Piso's adoption and Jan. 15.

6. **rapturi fuerint.** When the subjunctive depending upon an unfulfilled condition is governed by a conjunction, *e.g.*, *ut*, *cum*, etc., or belongs to a dependent question, the tense used is the perf. subj. in combination with the future participle: cp. *A.* iii. 53, *quodsi mecum consilium habuissent, nescio an suasurus fuerim.* Of course in the passive this is impossible, and the pluperf. subj. is then used: cp. Cic. *pro Sest.* 62, *dubitatis quin ei vis esset allata?*

7. **sparsa militum castra**, as we see from 31.

14. **elusit** sometimes means 'parried': Hor. *Ep.* i. 17, 18, *mordacem Cynicum sic eludebat.* Here it rather means 'made light of.'

15. **ignarus mil. animorum**, never having been a soldier: cp. Suet. *G.* ix. 14.

XXVII.

2. **pro aede Apollinis**, on the Palatine.

3. **tristia**, 'betokening misfortune,' as *laetus* has the opposite sense: 62, *laetum augurium.*

4. **domesticum hostem**, 'an enemy within the walls.'

12. **emi sibi**: cp. 11, *procuratoribus cohibentur.*

praedia apparently here means a house, as well as landed estate.

13. **per Tiberianam domum**, behind (west of) the Palatium. Probably there was a thoroughfare through it as there appears to have been through the palace of which the ruins still overlook the Forum. The Velabrum was the quarter of the town lying between the Tiber, the Forum, and the Aventine. Perhaps to avoid suspicion, Otho takes a somewhat circuitous route in order to reach the *mil. aureum:* a more direct way would have been along the west side of the Forum.

14. **miliarium aureum**, just beneath the Capitol: the central point apparently where the principal roads converged. Plin., *N. H.* 3. 9, speaks of *mensura currens a miliario in capite Romani fori statuto.*

17. **mucronibus**, poet. for *gladiis*.

19. **miraculo**, 'curiosity' = *admiratio:* as iii. 25, *hinc per omnem aciem miraculum et questus*.

20. **clamore et gaudiis** (there is the best ms. authority for *gladiis*, but the expression would be too like the familiar 'in tears and a sedan chair'), a hendiadys, meaning 'shouts of joy.' *Gaudiis* seems to be equivalent to *gaudio*. Cp. ii. 70, *clamore et gaudio*.

XXVIII.

2. **magnitudine**: for ablat. corresponding to the participle *metuens*, cp. *A*. ii. 38, *siluit Hortalus pavore an...retinens*.

3. **si contra tenderetur**: cp. iv. 16, *mox contra tendere*.

6. **praesentia**, 'present safety'; **dubiis**, 'danger.'

XXIX.

2. **fatigabat**, 'was assailing the gods with his prayers': sc. he was sacrificing victim after victim in the hope of obtaining a favourable omen. *Fatigare* in this sense is commonly used in poetry and picturesque prose: cp. Lucr. ii. 1237, *nequidquam divom numen sortesque fatigant;* Livy i. 11, *precibus fatigata*.

alieni imperii deos, 'the protecting deities of an empire which had already passed from him.'

incertum quem, a phrase like *nescio quis*.

4. **simul ex tota urbe**, sc. *aderant rem nuntiantes*.

9. **integra**, 'unimpaired' (by failure). His authority was to be reserved for the last emergency, without having its prestige weakened by any unsuccessful appeal.

10. **pro gradibus** means not 'in front of the steps,' but 'standing out on' them. *Pro* often has this meaning in Tacitus: cp. 36, *pro vallo castrorum* (on the rampart). Plutarch does not mention this speech of Piso's.

12. **sextus dies**, according to Roman computation, which includes both the terminus *a quo* and *ad quem*. Piso speaks on Jan. 15: he was adopted on the 10th.

13. **ignarus futuri et sive.** One would expect either *et utrum...esset* or the omission of *et*, so as to make *sive...esset* a parenthesis. But there is no reason why *ignarus* should not stand in connexion with a *sive* clause: the regular construction is of course *ignarus sum utrum sit annon;* but you can say *sive est, sive non est, ignarus sum* (however it be, I am ignorant about it).

15. **quo...fato**=with what result: sc. whether my election was a calamity or the reverse for my family.

16. **meo nomine,** 'in my own person,' 'for my own sake': used in this sense both by Cicero and Tacitus.

17. **cum maxime,** 'at this moment': frequently thus used by Tacitus: cp. 84.

19. **patris vicem doleo**: cp. Hor. *Epod.* 17. 42, *Infamis Helenae Castor offensus vicem.* It is like the Greek χάριν or δίκην.

22. **incruentam urbem,** Galba's massacre of the troops at the Mulvian bridge having taken place 2½ miles from the city.

XXX.

2. **modestiae,** here 'morality,' σωφροσύνη.

relatu, a word only found in Tacitus.

6. **mereretur imperium,** 'was he to,' 'could he deserve': the dubitative subjunctive referring to past time: as often in Cicero, *e.g. pro Sest.* 42, *haec cum viderem quid agerem?* cp. such phrases as *tibi uni peteres*, Phil. 2 (sc. *petere debebas*) and the familiar *tu dictis, Albane, maneres*, in the *Aeneid.*

7. **imponit,** a word in this sense of the silver age: cp. Juv. iv. 103, *facile est barbato imponere regi.* There is no tautology here: the sense is, 'those who are deceived by his seeming liberality are wrong in their expectation: for he will only know how to squander,' etc.

11. **penes ipsum sit,** 'are his.'

13. **bonis artibus,** 'by good means': cp. Sall. *Catil.* 2 *imperium facile iis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est.*

15. **si res p. et senatus,** etc., *i.e.*, if the state is too helpless to act, you at any rate should: for it is your interest, etc.

18. **aliquando,** 'now and then': cp. ii. 32, *etiam si aliquando obumbrentur.*

20. **minus triginta**: with the usual license of ancient authors, Tacitus supposes Piso to know the number of the conspirators because it is known to the historian and the reader.

24. **ad vos...pertinebunt**, 'you shall bear the brunt of,' *i.e.*, suffer from. *Pertinere* is a word which almost always depends upon the context for its rendering.

27. **proinde**: another reading is *perinde.*

XXXI.

4. **nullo adhuc consilio**: not yet decided whether to fight for Galba or not.

rapit signa: M. has *par signas quod: quam* has been inserted by Freinsheim. Each maniple had a *signum*, hence the plural: cp. iv. 16, *cohors signa transtulit.* Orelli read *parat signa.*

6. **electos Illyrici exercitus**: cp. 6.

Vipsania porticus: built by M. Vipsanius Agrippa between the Pincian and the Campus Martius, otherwise called *Neptuni* or *Argonautarum* after its paintings: cp. Mart. 167. 1, *qua vicina pluit Vipsanis porta columnis.* It seems to have been customary to quarter soldiers in the temples or *porticus.*

7. **tendentes**, 'quartered': cp. 55, *isdem hibernis tendentes.*

8. **primipilaribus**, present or ex-centurions of the first maniple of the front rank of the legion; =*primi pili honore perfuncti* (*A*. xiii. 36): who seem to have been thereby admitted to equestrian rank.

9. **Libertatis atrio**: perhaps on the Aventine. It contained the first public library at Rome, founded by Asinius Pollio.

diffidebat, M.: 'Piso' then is the subject. Al. *diffidebatur.*

14. **si**=εἴ πως: 'in the hope that,' etc. A common Graecism in Tacitus: cp. *A*. i. 48, *si recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent.*

et necdum=*et nondum:* as once in Pliny. *Necdum* stands for *nondum*, ii. 18, *certum erat necdum venisse Caecinam.*

17. **quia non ordine**, etc.: sc. his loyalty (and consequent unpopularity) was due not to his rank as tribune, but to his friendship with Galba: *e Galbae amicis*=*Galbae amicus*, is

parallel to *ordine militiae*, and represents a similar ablative of causation : *ordo militiae*, in sense of military rank or commission, occurs several times in the *Histories* : cp. 52, *redditi plerisque ordines*. **et**=and therefore.

21. **infestis pilis**, 'with javelins threateningly brandished': cp. iii. 85, *Vitellium infestis mucronibus...ad Gemonias propulere.*

Germanica vexilla, 'detachments from the German legions.' Bodies of men serving away from their legion, *sub vexillo*, under a standard of their own and not under the legionary eagle, are called indifferently *vexillarii* or *vexillum*. Very often, as *A*. i. 17, 26, 36, 39, 44, the word is applied to detachments of soldiers who have served their time and now form a kind of reserve. In the present instance the *vexilla* are troops detached by Nero from the legions stationed in Germany.

23. **Alexandriam praemissos**, sent on to Alexandria before Vindex' revolt : on the news of which they were recalled.

24. **rursus** : Döderlein conjectured *reversos.*

XXXII.

3. **servitiis** : cp. *servitia* in this chapter and iii. 84, *infima servitiorum.*

4. **ut si** : cp. 62, *ut si adesset imperator*. Cicero uses *ut si* in this way.

6. **iudicium** : cp. 12. **veritas**, sincerity.'

7. **postulaturis** means that they were actually about to demand, not merely that they were ready to do so (which latter sense would be supported by Horace's *Septimi Gades aditure mecum*).

pari certamine, 'with like eagerness.'

sed tradito more, sc. *postulabant* : 'they were only acting in accordance with the tradition.'

8. **adclamationum** : Cicero uses this word almost always in the sense of 'expressions of dissent' : but in Livy and later authors it means 'applause.'

15. **si ratio sit**, 'if it should seem advisable : cp. iii. 22, *confectum algore atque inedia hostem postera die profligare ac premere ratio fuit.*

16. **regressum**: the reading *regressus* produces the tautology, 'the power of returning would be in another's power': hence *regressum* has been plausibly conjectured, *regressus* being supposed to have arisen from *regressū* (*regressum*), followed by *si*.

XXXIII.

4. **cunctatione**, etc. According to Orelli, *terentium tempus* refers to those who hesitated to join Otho: which is not satisfactory. Rather the meaning is that Otho is taking advantage of the idle procrastination of Galba's followers to make himself perfect in the part he wishes to play.

7. **dum...cludit**: even Cicero occasionally uses *dum* with the present indicative in clauses depending on an accusative and infinitive; Tacitus very often.

8. **ianua ac limine tenus**: not venturing outside his door, a prisoner within his own door: cp. *A.* xv. 45, *ore tenus*=*ore tantum.*

9. **toleraturus**: M. has *toleraturos*, which Orelli adopted.

11. **indignatio elanguescat**, *indignatione languescat*, M. Halm reads *relanguescat.*

12. **proinde intuta quae indecora**, 'cowardice then is danger.' Nipperdey reads *perinde:* the meaning would then be, 'any course that is cowardly is proportionately dangerous.'

14. **Othoni invidiosius**, sc. it would put Otho in the wrong, set his conduct in an invidious light.

16. **Icelo**: Plutarch, *G.* 26, says, *Κέλσου καὶ Λάκωνος παρορμώντων.*

XXXIV.

1. **speciosiora suadentibus**: on the other hand Suetonius says that Galba *nihil amplius quam continere se statuit*, resolved to keep on the defensive: and he does not mention the mission of Piso.

4. **infensus T. Vinio.** Piso's supposed hostility to Vinius would make him more zealous in carrying out a plan which Vinius had deprecated. Either he was actually Vinius' enemy, or the wish that he should be was father to the thought in the minds of Laco and his friends.

9. **credula fama,** report was credulous, *i.e.*, those who passed it on were credulous. Others suppose *credula* to mean 'easily believed': but there is no authority for this sense of the word.

10. **arbitrabantur,** ms. It is hard to suppose that if Tacitus had meant 'many thought, at the time, of an intentionally falsified report,' he would have omitted *tamen* or some such word. Hence Urlichs reads *arbitrantur*, and supposes that Tacitus is speaking of his authorities: as he does now and then, *e.g.*, ii. 101.

XXXV.

2. **populus tantum et imperita plebs**: if there is a distinction between *populus* and *plebs*—although the words seem often to combine into a conventional phrase—*populus* is the middle class, *plebs* the lower orders and proletariate.

in plausus: some word like *erumpere* must be supplied from the idea of blind headlong impulse contained in *ruere*.

7. **ausurus**: the positive can be coordinated with *quisque* and a superlative, though it could not stand with *quisque* alone. Cp. 88, *levissimus quisque et futuri improvidus*. Notice *intus* used in the sense of *intro*.

nimii verbis: Tacitus uses the plural after *quisque* with superlative in several passages: but the singular as a rule.

10. **thorace,** *lorica lintea* (Suet.).

11. **resistens**: the reading of M. is *sistens*. Walther, followed by Heräus, retaining the ms. reading, connects *levaretur* with *turbae*, a construction like *procuratoribus cohibentur*, 11: *sistens* would then stand by itself and mean 'holding out': but this seems improbable.

14. **quis iussit?** *quo auctore?* are the words as given by Suetonius.

15. **minantibus...adversus blandientes**: for the change of expression cp. ii. 49, *non noxa neque ob metum*.

XXXVI.

2. **agmine et corporibus** together form one idea: 'not content with having carried him in procession on their shoulders.'

5. **vexillis** seems to be here equivalent to *manipulis*.

11. **conplecti armis.** Whether *armis* means *armatis brachiis* or is from *armus* must remain doubtful: probably it is the abl. of *armus*, as we do not hear that the soldiers had *arma* till 38 (*rapta statim arma*).

12. **praeire sacramentum**, 'dictated the oath.'

14. **adorare volgum, iacere oscula**: the gesture of *adoratio* seems to have included the touching of the lips with the right hand: cp. Appuleius *Met.* 4. 28, *Psychen admoventes oribus suis dexteram primore digito in erectum pollicem residente ut ipsam prorsus deam Venerem religiosis adorationibus venerabantur.* This however hardly justifies us in assuming that *adorare* is derived from *ad os*.

16. **classicorum, M.**: inferior mss. have *classiariorum*.

18. **in commune**: cp. 25.

pro vallo, 'standing on the vallum': cp. 29.

XXXVII.

3. **sustineo**, 'I cannot bring myself to' assume, etc.

7. **auditisne**: cp. 32.

10. **promisit**, sc. has promised our common destruction.

tot milia, an exaggeration, as in 6: the same may be said of Dion's estimate (64. 3) of 7,000 killed. Suet., *G.* 12, says only *decimavit*, out of a total not exceeding 10,000.

13. **feralem introitum**, 'the ghastly horrors of his entry.'

17. **Ob. Sabinus** was *quaestor aerarii* in 56 under Claudius: cp. *A.* xiii. 28.

18. **C. Marcellus**, apparently quaestor and subsequently proconsul of Sicily. Under Nero he escaped condemnation for complicity in the supposed treason of Cassius and Silanus: cp. *A.* xvi. 8.

Nothing is known of Betuus Chilo, except that the name is mentioned in an inscription. As to the remaining names, *v.* 5, 6, 7.

22. **quae castra**, etc., 'what camp has escaped the pollution of slaughter, or what he calls a salutary chastisement?'

26. **contumelias vestras** = *contum. in vos illatas.*

28. **Polyclitus**, a freedman of Nero's, sent in 61 to report on Suetonius Paulinus' administration of Britain: *A.* xiv. 39.

29. **Vatinius**, a buffoon at Nero's court, originally a shoemaker of Beneventum (the *Beneventanus sutor* of Juv. v. 46). *A.* xv. 34, *Vatinius inter foedissima ejus aulae ostenta fuit, sutrinae tabernae alumnus, corpore detorto, facetiis scurrilibus, primo in contumelias assumptus: dehinc optimi cujusque criminatione eo usque valuit ut gratia, pecunia, vi nocendi etiam malos praemineret.*

Aegiali: *aegialii perierunt* M. Aegialius does not sound like either Greek or Latin. The name Aegialus is found in an inscription *temp.* Augustus. Various emendations are suggested: *e.g.*, *et si qui alii perierunt.* Heräus, after J. F. Gronow, reads *et Tigellini petierunt.*

XXXVIII.

4. **notabili tempestate**: cp. 18, *foedum imbribus diem.*

11. **una cohors togata**: the soldiers of the cohort on guard, being in the city, were in mufti, exchanging the sagum for the toga: but they retained their weapons. Cp. Mart. vi. 76, *ille sacri lateris custos Martisque togati* (of Fuscus the *praefectus praetorii*).

detinet, not actually 'keeps him prisoner,' but 'is a moral hindrance to his escape.'

12. **cum signum meum acceperit**, sc. when I take the command. It was customary for the emperor to give the countersign (*signum*) to the officer commanding the guard: cp. *A.* i. 7, *signum praetoriis cohortibus ut imperator dederat:* xiii. 2, *signum more militiae petenti tribuno dedit optimae matris.*

13. **inputet**, sc. who can best deserve my gratitude. *Imputare* is really a 'business' term, meaning 'to put down something to a man's account': so, to make a merit of services performed, to reckon them as a debt to be repaid, 'score them up' against the recipient of the benefit. It is a word of frequent occurrence in silver age authors, especially

Tacitus: cp. 55, *neque enim erat cui imputaretur*, 'there was no one whose gratitude was worth securing'; 71, *exemplum ultro imputavit*, 'made a merit of his loyalty.'

15. **aperire**: *aperiri*, Nipperdey.

16. **sine more et ordine militiae**, 'without check or discipline.' Cp. Virg. *Aen.* vii. 378, *sine more furit. ut...distinguerentur* explains *ordo militiae*: 'discipline, which should have caused the soldiers to assume their distinctive armour.' The legionaries took the praetorian *lanceae*, while the praetorians took the *pila* of the legionaries.

18. **miscentur auxiliaribus galeis**, 'they took promiscuous possession of the auxiliaries' armour.' This is one of the frequent cases where the sense of 'confusion' in *misceri* can only be rendered by altering the form of the sentence: cp. *resonantia longe litora misceri* (Virg. *Georg.* i. 360), *i.e.*, the shores are full of confused noises.

XXXIX.

4. **adsecutus erat**, 'had overtaken.' Piso had been *praemissus in castra* (34), but returned without daring to face the soldiers. Marius Celsus had been sent to the Illyrian troops: 31.

6. **redire...petere**: M. *peteret. Censeo* can be followed by the gerundive, or infin. (active or passive): cp. ii. 10, *dari tempus, edi crimina ..more tamen audiendum censebant;* Hor. *Ep.* i. 2. 9, *Antenor censet belli praecidere causam.*

The reading of M. might be justified by 32, *non eundum ad iratos censebat: daret malorum paenitentiae...spatium.* Halm reads *rediret...peteret.*

7. **rostra occupanda**: sc. the Rostra Julia, erected by Augustus near the temple of Saturn: considerable remains of these *rostra* still exist. Cp. Middleton, *Rome in* 1885, pp. 157 *seqq.* For a similar forestalling of opponents by taking possession of the Rostra cp. Cicero's account of the riots during his exile, when *Fabricius...templum* (sc. the Rostra) *aliquanto ante lucem occupavit* (*Pro Sestio*, 35).

13. **ad postremum**, sc. if he was not prompted by these motives, the only remaining alternative is, etc.

14. **initio caedis orto**: cp. ii. 79, *initium coeptum.*

16. **diffugia**: ἅπαξ εἰρημένον.

XL.

2. **basilicis**: buildings in the Forum (basilica Julia, basil. Pauli) used for the transaction of legal and other business. Parts of the basilica Julia still exist: it extended along the Sacra Via from the slope of the Capitol to the Vicus Tuscus. **Templis**: *e.g.*, the great temples of Saturn and of Castor, the lofty columns of which are still the Forum's most imposing ornament.

5. **non tumultus, non quies**: Orelli quotes a similar passage from Xenophon (*Agesil.* 2), *καὶ κραυγὴ μὲν οὐδεμία παρῆν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιγή· φωνὴ δέ τις ἦν τοιαύτη οἵαν ὀργή τε καὶ μάχη παράσχοιτ' ἄν.*

7. **occupare pericula**, 'anticipate the danger.'

8. **Vologeses**, one of the Arsacid kings of Parthia, *temp.* Claudius: **Pacorus**, his brother, viceroy of Media.

12. **rapidi equis**: *rapidi* is the reading of M.: it is justified by ii. 40, *citus equo*: *rapidis* would spoil the structure of the sentence.

14. **religio**, 'the sacredness.' *Religio* is the subjective feeling of reverence, and sometimes almost the holiness which is the object of that feeling: but it is never entirely objective. It is veneration, or that which is venerable, considered in relation to the venerating mind. Cp. Cic. *in Verr.* ii. 4. 5, *religio sacrarii*; Virg. *Aen.* viii. 349, *iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrester dira loci.*

XLI.

2. **vexillarius**, here 'standard bearer,' as iii. 17. Each maniple had its standard, called *signum* or *vexillum*: so that the bearer is variously called *signifer* or *vexillarius*. Here, however, we should expect *signifer*: for the praetorian cohorts' standards (each cohort had one) were known as *signa*.

4. **Galbae imaginem**: a figure of the emperor carved in relief on a medallion attached to the *signum*.

7. **Curtii lacum**, according to Livy i. 12, called after Mettius Curtius, the Sabine chief, in memory of his having been almost engulfed in this *lacus* when leading the Sabines to battle against Romulus. According to another tradition it marked the spot where Curtius closed the portentous

chasm which had opened in the Forum by flinging himself into it (Dionys. 2, 41). In the time of Augustus it appears to have been an enclosed space containing an altar (Suet., *Aug.* 57), and is thus described by Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 403:

> " Curtius ille lacus siccas qui sustinet aras
> nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit."

(Middleton, *Rome in* 1885.)

trepidatione, 'alarmed haste.'

12. **deprecatum**. *Deprecari aliquid* may mean either 'to attempt to avert by prayer,' *e.g.*, *deprecari poenam*, or, as here, 'to attempt to obtain': cp. Cic. *ad Fam.* xii. 24, *pacem deprecari*.

Plutarch and Suetonius follow the second version of Galba's words: the latter however mentioning both accounts.

13. **agerent**: the expression appears to be a reminiscence of the introductory formula of a sacrifice, *hoc age*.

16. **evocatum**. *Evocati* are usually veterans who remain in the army after serving their time. In the time of Cicero and Caesar they form a separate division, and later they seem to rank higher than the ordinary *gregarius*.

But it is possible that Terentius was one of the *evocati Galbae*, a special bodyguard: Suet., *G.* 10, says that Galba *delegit equestris ordinis juvenes, qui manente aureorum anulorum usu evocati appellarentur excubiasque circa cubiculum suum vice militum agerent.*

17. **quintae decimae**: there was a detachment of this legion at Rome, the headquarters being at Vetera, on the Rhine: cp. 31, *Germanica vexilla.*

18. **hausisse**: a poetical expression used in this connexion by Lucretius, Virgil, and Ovid: apparently after Homer's διὰ δ' ἔντερα χαλκὸς ἄφυσσεν (*Il.* xiv. 517).

Further details in Suet. *G.* 20 as to the treatment of Galba's body.

XLII.

5. **conscientiam**: M. reads ablative, but accusative is necessary.

6. **huc potius inclinat**, 'gives grounds rather for the belief that.'

7. **cuius causa erat**: cp. the opening words of 6.

8. **aedem divi Iulii**: the Heroon or temple of the deified Julius, built by Augustus B.C. 42, according to the *Monumentum Ancyranum.* It stood near the side of the *Via Sacra,* opposite the temple of Castor: we have evidence of this partly from existing remains, partly from notices such as Ovid's couplet:

"Fratribus assimiles quos proxima templa tenentes
divus ab excelsa Julius aede videt."

Vide Middleton, pp. 178 *seqq.*

primo ictu in poplitem, sc. *vulneratus,* which can be supplied from the following *transverberatus.*

XLIII.

2. **Semp. Densus**: Dion Cassius and Plutarch (the latter however giving a slightly different name) say that he defended Galba.

3. **custodiae additus**: cp. *A.* i. 6, *tribunus custodiae adpositus.*

6. **quanquam,** used with a participle, like καίπερ: cp. 63, *quamquam omni comitate exceptos.*

7. **aedes Vestae,** of which remains exist at the south angle of the Forum. It was a small circular building, apparently like the round temple which still stands near the Tiber (till lately, erroneously called *Tempio di Vesta*). It is this *aedes Vestae* in the Forum to which Horace alludes (*Od.* i. 2. 13),

"Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis
Litore Etrusco violenter undis
Ire dejectum monumenta regis
Templaque Vestae."

Martial's description (i. 71, 3),

"Vicinum Castora canae
Transibis Vestae virgineamque domum,"

exactly tallies with the site of the still visible remains, the *virginea domus* being the recently excavated *atrium Vestae.* *Vide* Middleton, p. 181, etc.

8. **publici servi**: the slave who had the charge of the temple, ἱερόδουλος. *Contubernium* is the regular name for the

residence of such a slave with his family: his wife is *contubernalis*: cp. iii. 74, *disjecto aeditui contubernio.*

9. **caerimoniis**, 'its sacred associations,' as we should say.

11. **ardentis**: *ardentes* M.: the genitive is justified by Plutarch (*G.* 27), who says that Otho bade the soldiers bring him Piso's head: τὴν Πείσωνός μοι κεφαλὴν δείξατε.

e Brit. cohortibus: cp. 6, *multi ad hoc numeri e Germania ac Britannia.*

14. **trucidatur**: *trucidatus* M. But as *protractus* has preceded, *est* could hardly have been omitted. Halm reads *trucidatus est.*

XLIV.

5. **recordatio, etc.**: sc. the recollection that Galba had been an emperor, and Vinius his own friend, may have saddened even his cruel heart.

10. **legionis** *classicae.*

13. **libellos**, 'petitions.' Hence the office of *a libellis* at court.

17. **munimentum ad praesens**, etc.: the accusatives are in apposition with the preceding sentence—a construction imitated from the Greek: cp. *A.* i. 27, *manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum.* The sense is: it is a traditional custom whereby emperors seek to ensure their own safety, and to form a precedent for their successors in case they themselves should fall by a like fate.

XLV.

1. **alium populum**: the populace in Juvenal's words (x. 72), *sequitur fortunam ut semper et odit damnatos.*

4. **exosculari** appears to be stronger than the simple verb, as *expostulare* is a strengthened form of *postulare.*

13. **quaeri**, 'that the object was,' etc.

XLVI.

1. **deinde,** 'thenceforward': cp. Livy, i. 5, *ut*; in xl., *deinde annos tutam pacem haberet.*

4. **vigilibus**: cp. 20.

7. **suspectus consilia fovisse**: so iv. 34, *suspectus bellum malle.*

8. **F. Sabinus,** brother of Vespasian.

11. **vacationes,** here 'price of exemption from duty': elsewhere=the exemption itself: cp. *vacationem emere* (*infra*). It had become customary for soldiers to buy leave (*commeatus*) or exemption from the centurions.

14. **dum...exolveret**: sc. so long as the money was paid, no centurion cared how many of his men were off duty, nor how high the price was, or how procured.

16. **pensi habere**: cp. *A.* xiii. 15, *neque fas neque fidem pensi habere.*

20. **exhaustus,** 'impoverished.'

24. **volgi largitio,** objective genitive: 'liberality to the rank and file.'

25. **fiscum.** The emperor's privy purse already supported all military expenses: the *aerarium* paying for the civil administration of senatorial provinces.

26. **rem haud dubie utilem**: for the construction cp. 44. This practice was made an enduring rule of the service by *boni principes*; and Vitellius too, *vacationes centurionibus ex fisco numerat,* 58.

31. **libertum,** 'his freedman': the man was a *libertus Caesaris* or *Augusti,* and Otho apparently exercised his right as *patronus.* Emperors inherited freedmen enfranchised by their predecessors as part of the palace furniture: they were *liberti* of the reigning emperor. Hence *libertus* in the present passage, not *libertinus*: for a freedman as belonging to a class is *libertinus,* in relation to his patron, *libertus.*

XLVII.

2. **vocat senatum praetor,** both consuls being dead: cp. Cic. *ad Fam.* x. 12. 3, *praetor urbanus...qui, quod consules aberant, consulare munus sustinebat more majorum.*

5. **nomen Augusti**, first assumed by Octavianus, B.C. 27.

omnes principum honores: the most important of the other *honores* would be the *imperium*.

8. **omisisset offensas**, etc., 'the shortness of his reign left it uncertain whether he had intended to pardon or delay the punishment of his enemies.'

11. **concedi...permisit**, a construction of the silver age.

12. **Verania**: cp. Plin. *Ep.* 2. 20, *Verania Pisonis.*

XLVIII.

4. **diu exul**: cp. 21, *longo exilio efferatus.*

9. **maternus avus.** Dion Cassius (47. 7) says that a T. Vinius was proscribed by the *triumviri.* Hence we might conjecture *paternus avus:* but the maternal grandfather might have received the name by testament or adoption.

10. **legatum C. S. habuerat**, 'served under C. S.,' probably as tribune. Sabinus, *cos.* A.D. 26 (*A.* iv. 46), was *legatus pro praetore* in Pannonia under Caligula. He and his wife were prosecuted for the incident here mentioned: both anticipated condemnation by suicide (D.C. 59. 18).

11. **situm castrorum**, the internal arrangement or disposition of the camp: cp. Plin. *N.H.* xxxv. 4. 23, *situs Carthaginis* = a map or plan of Carthage.

13. **temerasset**: the Romans seem to have held that it was a violation of propriety for a woman even to watch the evolutions of troops: cp. *A.* ii. 55, *nec Plancina se intra decora feminis tenebat, sed exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium interesse.*

14. **principiis**: the central part of the camp, containing the quarters of the general, his staff, and the higher officers, before which were planted the eagle and standards of the legion. Thus the *principia*, as containing the *aquila*, had in a manner the sanctity of a temple: cp. *A.* i. 39, *illic signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese tutabatur.*

17. **cursu inoffenso**, he held various offices in their usual order, without interruption.

19. **scyphum aureum**: ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν (Plutarch).

21. **proconsulatu**: the ablative is harsh: *proconsule* has been suggested. *Gallia Narbonensis* was a senatorial province.

23. **in abruptum tractus,** 'raised to a dangerous elevation': for this sense of *abruptus* cp. *praeceps:* Virg. *Aen.* ii. 460, *Turrim in praecipiti stantem.*

(But Louandre translates, *entrainé dans l'abîme,* and Heräus, *auf den Weg des Verderbens getrieben.*)

27. **firmavit,** 'caused his last wishes to be regarded.'

XLIX.

3. **dispensator,** οἰκόνομος, home steward and keeper of accounts. Argius = Ἀργεῖος.

5. **suffixum,** *i.e., praefixa contis* (44).

6. **Patrobii**: cp. ii. 95, *Patrobii et vetera odiorum nomina.*

10. **alieno imperio,** 'happier as a subject than as a ruler.'

12. **medium ingenium,** sc. his character was a mean between vice and virtue, rather free from the first than distinguished by the second.

16. **sine reprehensione,** sc. he trusted them with unquestioning confidence.

si mali forent: *si* with subjunctive, expressing indefinite frequency in past time, is a construction almost unknown in earlier prose authors. But it is consistent with the general tendency of the silver age to extend the use of the subjunctive.

18. **metus temporum,** 'the dangers of the time.' It was thought that Galba was wise in avoiding a too active life in days so evil: cp. *Agric.* 6, *sub Nerone...inertia pro sapientia fuit.* As to *obtentui,* cp. ii. 14, *obscurum noctis obtentui fugientibus.*

20. **apud Germanias**: *apud* is constantly employed by Tacitus and later writers in the sense of *in* with the ablative. In the earlier period this use is generally confined to the popular speech: yet Cicero says once *apud villam.* Galba commanded against the Chatti, A.D. 40.

L.

3. **novus de Vitellio nuntius,** sc. about his election by the legions of Lower Germany. The news would be about a week

en route, travelling by the road from Mainz to Strasburg, thence to Vevey, Martigny, and Aosta: so that it cannot have been long known at Rome, as the movement on the Lower Rhine only began Jan. 1. The two legions mentioned by Galba as insubordinate (16) are those of Upper Germany.

6. **exercitum descivisse crederetur**: *exercitus desc. crederetur* (ms.) would be an extension of the personal construction of the passive with an infinitive and predicate; it is not uncommon in silver age writers: cp. ii. 74, *secuturae sperabantur; A*. vi. 50, *creditus est mortalitatem explevisse ;* vi. 3, *incusabatur facile toleraturus.*

9. **quis aliqua pars et cura rei p.**, 'who had any share or interest in the maintenance of the state': the lower class of the people according to Juvenal (x. 77), *ex quo suffragia nulli Vendimus, effudit curas.*

11. **saevae pacis**, sc. the bloodstained reign of Nero.

14. **Pharsaliam**, etc. It has been proposed to read *Pharsaliam ac Mutinam, Philippos et Perusiam,* which would be a more regular, and, at the same time, more chronologically correct arrangement. Perusia was the scene of a battle in which Octavianus defeated L. Antonius, B.C. 40.

15. **loquebantur** is followed by an accusative, as iv. 12, *caesos exercitus...non ut mala loquebantur.*

19. **rem publicam**: republican form of government, as 16, *a quo respublica inciperet.*

21. **inter duos** = *quoniam duo essent:* cp. 1.

22. **deteriorem fore**, sc. the conqueror would be the worst, from his greater power to do harm.

26. **solus omnium ante se**: a Greek idiom: cp. *Agric.* 34, *ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi.* 'Adam the noblest man of men since born' (Milton).

LI.

1. **expediam** = *exponam.*

2. **Vindice**: cp. 6 and Introduction.

4. **expeditionem et aciem** is the ms. reading, and makes good sense: 'they preferred to march against the enemy' (cp. *expedire*, 88) 'and fight.' It is needless to alter it to *expeditionem quam otium* (Lipsius) or *expeditionum feracium* (Heräus, after Bezzenberger).

7. **ingenium** is frequently used by Tacitus in connexion with inanimate things, as here.

11. **supererant**, 'abounded.'

sed ante bellum begins a sentence really subordinate to the following, *tum adversus Vindicem*: 'whereas before the war... now on the other hand.'

14. **seque et Gallias expertae**, sc. discovering their own strength and the provinces' weakness.

17. **nec deerat pars G.** : *i.e.*, they were further encouraged by the provincials nearest to the Rhine (Belgae).

20. **Sequanis Aeduisque** in east and central France. The capital of the Sequani was Vesontio (Besançon), of the Aedui, Augustodunum (Autun).

21. **deinde prout**, etc., 'the wealthiest of the remaining communities.' *Deinde* is used here locally, as 46 temporally, *omnia deinde* (thereafter) *arbitrio militum acta*.

23. **hauserunt animo**, 'they dreamt of': cp. *Aen.* x. 648, *animo spem turbidus hausit inanem.*

26. **publice donatos**, sc. *se*, to be supplied from *sibi* above. These communities had received from Galba the Roman franchise (8) and additional territory (53). *Publice* means that the gift was to the State, not to individuals alone: cp. 66, *publice armis multati=civitas armis multata.*

27. **volgatum...creditum**, participles used as substantives, as in Liv. iv. 49, *temptatum a L. Sextio tribuno plebis ut rogationem ferret...per intercessionem collegarum discussum est.*

28. **decumari...dimitti** : infinitives of the intention, 'that there was a plan to,' etc.

promptissimum, 'most energetic.'

29. **atroces nuntii**, 'alarming news.'

31. **pro Nerone fide** : Nero having sent them *quadragies sestertium* to repair the damage done by a great fire (*A.* xvi. 13).

LII.

4. **cum cura adierat**, 'had diligently inspected.'

5. **redditi plerisque ordines** : that is, officers who had lost their commissions from unwillingness to join Galba were now reinstated.

notae: Marquardt says that troops thus punished—besides undergoing other penalties—were docked of their pay, had rations of barley instead of wheat served out to them, and were obliged to encamp outside the *vallum*.

7. **sordes et avaritiam**, sc. Vitellius altered the arrangements by which Capito had consulted his own interest: *e.g.*, he deprived officers of commissions bought from the late general: *integre*, 'honestly,' 'impartially.'

9. **nec consularis**, etc.: *i.e.*, the soldiers judged of his acts as those of a future emperor rather than a *legatus*.

11. **humilis**, 'undignified.' Suet., *Vit.* 7, relates a detail of the emperor's *comitas*.

13. **ei parendi**: the ms. reading is *imperandi*: and perhaps the army which elects a ruler can be said to rule. Nipperdey proposes *imperi dandi*.

15. **modesti**, 'loyal,' 'law-abiding,' 'orderly': *modestus* and *modestia* are several times used by Tacitus to describe docile and well-disciplined troops. In Cicero too the words have a political rather than an ethical meaning: *modestus homo* is a peaceable and law-abiding citizen.

16. **sed profusa**, etc. The sense is: but among all, Alienus Caecina and Fabius Valens were the most reckless and boundless in their ambition.

Caecina commanded in Upper, Valens in Lower Germany.

20. **Verg. cunctationem**: cp. 8, *nec statim pro Galba Verginius*.

25. **precarium imperium**: sc. his power depended on the goodwill of others. This is the original meaning of *precarius*: cp. Cic. *pro Caelio* 11, *tibi respondeo precario* (sc. if you will allow me). Ulpian says, *precarium est, quod precibus petenti utendum conceditur tam diu quam diu is qui concessit patitur*.

30. **collegium Caesaris**, 'his rank as the emperor's colleague': the elder Vitellius was censor together with the emperor Claudius (Suet. *Vit.* 2).

31. **dignationem**, 'dignity,' *ἀξίωμα*.

LIII.

6. **Baetica**, the southern province of Spain, comprising the modern Andalusia and Granada: it was a senatorial province,

and thus part of its finance was still administered by a *quaestor*, as in republican times.

8. **flagitari**, 'prosecuted,' on the analogy of *postulari*.

11. **discordiae**, here 'disaffection.'

14. **vexillis**, here = *manipulis*, as 36, *medium inter signa Othonem vexillis circumdarent*.

15. **Treveri**, on the Moselle, in Gallia Belgica: their capital was Augusta Treverorum (Trier).

Lingones, settled on both banks of the upper Seine, near Langres and Dijon.

16. **damno finium**: cp. 8, *Galliarum civitates...quaedam etiam finibus ademptis*. In both passages *fines* means 'the extent' of the territory.

18. **paganos**, 'civilians,' as ii. 14, where *paganus* is opposed to *miles*: *paganorum manus...inter milites*.

LIV.

2. **civitas Lingonum** may mean 'the community' or 'its capital,' a meaning which the word already bears in Latin cp. iv. 65, *muros civitatis* = the walls of the city.

3. **dextras**: cp. ii. 8, *dextras concordiae insignia*: cp. Xen. *Anab.* ii. 4, δεξιὰς παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον. Such tokens of friendship (right hands made of silver or bronze) are to be seen in the collection at Lyon.

4. **compositi in**, 'assuming an appearance of.'

13. **nisi ipsi consulerent**, M. Halm reads, *ni sibi ipsi*, a plausible correction.

14. **per tenebras et inscitiam**, 'under cover of darkness and their comrades' ignorance.' For *per inscitiam* cp. 24, *per socordiam praefecti*. In both passages the preposition governs a substantive which is a cause only contributing to, without actively producing, the given result.

17. **circumdatis cohortibus alisque**: as *circumdatis* presumably means 'surrounding,' the relative position of the troops is unusual: the legions customarily encamped round the auxiliaries (*Dict. of Antiq.*, 'castra').

19. **acrius volvens**: cp. 64, *bellum volvebat*.

20. **in pace** appears to be scarcely necessary for the sense of the passage: the meaning is, that the disloyal find it easier to unite for a warlike than for a peaceful object.

For the headquarters of the German armies *v.* 9.

LV.

2. **kal. Ian. sacramento.** Since the time of Tiberius it had been customary to administer the oath of allegiance to the army on Jan. 1 of every year: it is this formality which is here referred to, as the necessary *sacramentum* on the occasion of Galba's accession had been already administered: cp. 53, *in eo ipso sacramento vexillis inferioris Germaniae praeventus erat.*

Sacramento is ablative. *Adigere* is used by itself in the sense of 'to administer an oath': iv. 31, *adigente Flacco... dixit sacramentum.*

3. **primorum ordinum** = *centurionum primorum ordinum:* sc. the centurions of the front rank; cp. Caes. *B.C.* vi. 6, *primi ordines.* *Ordo* is a common equivalent for the century, and thus is sometimes used to denote its commander.

6. **quae piget inchoare**: cp. ii. 80, *quod in tali re difficillimum est, prima vox.*

ipsis, sc. in their own minds, apart from outward expression.

12. **isdem hibernis**: for the *ablat. loci* cp. ii. 45, *isdem tentoriis.*

16. **obliterata,** 'forgotten,' 'obsolete.'

20. **suggestu,** ms. reading. There seems to be no particular reason for inserting a preposition, such as *e*, *de*, or *pro*. Döderlein says, *prope dixerim nihil non ausum esse Tacitum* as to the omission of prepositions. The construction here is not much harsher than *Britannia acciverat*, iii. 15.

21. **cui inputaretur**: *v.* 38.

LVI.

2. **non compescere ruentes,** 'made no attempt to crush open mutiny.'

9. **prioris sacramenti**: the oath of allegiance sworn to Galba soon after Nero's death.

10. **unde plures erant, omnes fuere** the difference of tense may be expressed by translating, 'all found themselves eventually on the side which originally had a majority.' **unde** = *a quibus partibus.*

11. **Colon. Agrippin.**: Cöln, originally a colony of veterans sent, 50 A.D., to *oppidum Ubiorum* at the instigation of Agrippina.

17. **occupari nutantem fortunam**, 'to seize the opportunity while fortune was yet doubtful'; 'to avail himself of the crisis.'

LVII.

3. **equitibus legionis.** Tacitus draws the same distinction (*A.* iv. 73) between *equites legionum* and *alarius eques.* Each legion had 120 horsemen attached to it (under the Republic 300). These *equites legionis* were provincials; but, unlike the auxiliary cavalry, were armed in Roman fashion.

8. **scires** = 'it was easy to see that,' etc.

9. **ardorem...aequabant**: cp. iii. 17, *solum aequabant,* 'were on a level with the ground.'

12. **principes coloniarum aut castrorum**, the civil and military authorities, who had already wealth in abundance (*praesentia ex affluenti*) and everything to hope from victory.

16. **balteos**: sword belts, often ornamented with gold or silver studs. **Phalerae** were small plates of silver or gold, fastened together in various ways and attached to the breast.

insignia armorum, 'military decorations': cp. *A.* i. 24, *insignibus fulgentes.*

17. **instinctu et impetu**, 'enthusiasm.'

18. **avaritia**, sc. they hoped to receive back their gifts with interest; or perhaps the meaning is that avarice prompted them to keep their money and give their armour.

LVIII.

2. **ministeria principatus.** The earliest emperors being in theory only citizens of the State and not surrounded with the

traditions of monarchy, it would have been considered a degradation for a freeborn Roman to occupy a place in their household. He would have been a servant in the house of one who was theoretically his equal. Hence the court and household offices during the first century of the empire were occupied by imperial freedmen. Their duties, however, were not confined to the actual service of the palace, but extended to the administration of the imperial revenues and the whole management of all business with which the emperor was directly connected: they had the control of the departments of finance, correspondence, and petitions; and under the weakest emperors—more especially Claudius—the freedmen were the real rulers. With the development of monarchy the more important of these 'places about the court' so increased in dignity that they became the desired goal for the ambition of freeborn *equites*. But although Vitellius first introduced the change, these offices were not regularly and invariably held by *equites* until the reign of Hadrian, who, according to Spartianus (*Hadrianus* 22), *ab epistulis et libellis primus equites Romanos habuit.*

3. **vacationes**: cp. 46.

6. **raro**: *paro*, M.: Orelli read *partim.*

7. **P. Propinquus**: whose despatch was the earliest intelligence at Rome of the mutiny (12).

9. **classis**: Drusus, the father of Germanicus, had first stationed this flotilla on the Rhine. It is often mentioned in inscriptions, always under the name *classis Germanica*, as here.

13. **occidere palam**: cp. 45 for the same statement about Otho.

15. **stratis militum odiis**: cp. Aesch. *Prom. Vinc.*, *στορέσας ὀργήν*. The ms. reading is *statis*, whence others read *sedatis.*

ut piaculum, sc. he was made the scapegoat.

17. **manifestior**, 'more obviously guilty.'

LIX.

1. **Iulius Civilis**, leader of the subsequent Batavian revolt. In iv. 13 he is called Claudius Civilis, whence it is suggested that his name was Claudius Julius Civilis. Instances of a double gentile name are not unknown: *e.g.*, Roscius Caelius

(60): the son of Antonius the triumvir was called Julius Antonius.

4. **Batavorum cohortes**: we hear of them first as serving in Britain, in Nero's reign, A.D. 61. The *quartadecuma legio* was stationed by Nero in Britain, thence transferred to Dalmatia, as we learn from ii. 11 and 66.

6. **prout inclinassent, grande momentum**, etc., 'whose decision for friendship or hostility would be of great importance,' 'would be a great weight in the scale.'

momentum=the moving or deciding influence: cp. Lucan iv. 819, *momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum;* sc. his change turned the scale.

9. **fidei crimine**: the thought is the same as in 31, *fidus principi suo et desciscentibus suspectior.*

13. **Italica legione**: *prima Italica,* formed by Nero.

14. **Tauriana**: the corps may have been called after its founder, Statilius Taurus: perhaps the same man as the proconsul of Africa mentioned *A.* xii. 59.

nec...mora, commonly used by Tacitus and the poets without the copula.

15. **Raeticis copiis**: cp. 68, *Raeticae alae cohortesque.*

LX.

1. **Treb. Maximus,** *consul suffectus* in 58, and governor of Britain (*legatus Caesaris*) since 64. According to *Agric.* 16, he was a weak and indolent ruler.

3. **R. Caelius** preceded Agricola in the command of the 20th legion (Valeria Victrix).

4. **olim**=*iamdudum,* πάλαι; it is commonly thus used by Tacitus, more especially in apposition clauses: cp. ii. 94, *olim anxii odiis.*

8. **cum interim...ventum**: *cum interim* is used with the indicative several times in Tacitus: *e.g.*, iv. 42, *cum interim... exortus est.*

14. **rexere,** 'carried on the government': *rego* is here used absolutely, like *regno.*

LXI.

1. **adjuncto Brit. exercitu** : it seems strange that Vitellius should have been joined both by the army and by the *legatus* whom it had driven away.

4. **Cottianis Alpibus**, the mountains between Mont Cenis and Monte Viso; the actual route would traverse Mont Genevre.

6. **Poeninis** : Caecina was to cross the Great St. Bernard, descending upon Aosta.

7. **aquila quintae legionis** : sc. he took the main body of the 5th legion (Alauda), and detachments (*electi*) from the other three.

8. **cohortibus alisque** : sc. *auxiliariorum*, as in 60.

13. **tota mole belli**, 'the main force of the attack.' *Moles belli* is a common expression in Tacitus : cp. for instance iii. 15, *immensam belli molem*.

LXII.

2. **dum Galliae trepident** : the subjunctive expresses that the alarm of Gaul is the reason urged by the soldiers.

4. **ignavae pacis moras**, 'delays suggested by a cowardly quiescence' : sc. they would not be delayed by fear of breaking a peace that only cowards would keep.

7. **facto** : cp. Sall. *Catil.* 43, *facto non consulto opus esse.*

8. **fortunam principatus...praesumebat**, 'anticipated his elevation.' *Fortuna* in the *Histories* frequently means 'high dignity, more especially the imperial dignity : cp. 10, *post fortunam*; ii. 59. 81, *fortuna principalis.*

9. **medio diei.** Genitives of this kind, dependent on a neuter adjective in the singular (or, more frequently, in the plural) are common in Tacitus : cp. the same expression iii. 11; ii. 14, *obscurum noctis.*

10. **sagina gravis.** Vitellius is described (ii. 71) as *luxu et saginae mancipatus emptusque*, and by Suetonius (*Vit.* 13) as *homo non profundae modo sed intempestivae quoque et sordidae gulae.*

cum tamen, with indicative, as occasionally in Cicero: cp. also *Aen.* ix. 515, *cum tamen omnes ferre libet subter densa testudine casus.*

13. **intenti**, 'alert,' 'eager': cp. *Aen.* v. 138, *intenti exspectant signum.*

14. **Caesarem**: hence Vitellius has only the title 'Augustus' on coins: cp. ii. 62.

15. **laetum augurium**, nominative in apposition to the following sentence. More frequently the phrase in apposition takes the form of an accusative at the end of the clause: cp. *e.g.* the last words of 44. For the incident cp. the story in *A.* ii. 17, where we are told that Germanicus' army was preceded by eight eagles.

21. **magnae et prosperae rei**, 'a great success.'

LXIII.

2. **Divodurum**, Metz.

4. **raptis repente**: M. has *raptisae repente*, but *-ae* is probably an unerased *lapsus calami* for *re-* of the following word. Gronow read *derepente*, a word not elsewhere found in Tacitus.

The ablative absolute is irregular, the nominative of the main verb not being identical with the agent implied in *raptis:* we must suppose it to be a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν, as though *subitus pavor eos terruit* were *subito pavore terrentur.* Heräus puts a full stop after *terruit* and alters *et* (after *rabie*) to *eunt.*

8. **temperavere ab**, 'abstained from': cp. *Aen.* ii. 9, *quis talia fando...temperet a lacrimis;* in 69, *tempero* is said to be used with the ablative alone.

12. **quaeque alia placamenta**: loosely connected with the ablative absolute preceding: cp. ii. 4, *Titus spectata opulentia...quaeque alia Graecorum genus incertae vetustati adfingit;* i. 23, *inserendo querellas...quaeque alia turbamenta volgi.* 'Their women and children threw themselves prostrate in the roads; they resorted to every method that could be employed to avert the enemy's anger, in order to gain peace though not at war.'

13. **tendere** is appropriate, because it is a word habitually connected with the offerings of suppliants, such as are suggested by *placamenta.*

LXIV.

2. **Leuci**, between the Marne and Moselle, near Toul.

3. **in gaudium aut formidine**: cp. 20, *per artem et formidine.*

6. **Lingonum**: *v.* 54.

8. **intemperie**, 'unruly conduct. **cohortium**, *Batavarum.*

10. **iurgia**, 'high words,' **rixae**, actual violence: cp. Juv. iii. 288, *miserae cognosce prooemia rixae, si rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum;* and v. 26, *jurgia proludunt: sed mox et pocula torques saucius.*

18. **cohortem duodevicesimam.** Outside the legions and praetorian and urban cohorts there existed *cohortes civium Romanorum*, who are specifically mentioned *A.* i. 8. That there were at least 32 of these is shown by inscriptions.

19. **solitis sibi**: the reflexive pronoun refers to the subject of the infinitive *relinqui*, as if the sentence were *placuit ut in solitis sibi hibernis relinquerentur.*

LXV.

1. **Lugdunenses et Viennenses.** Lugdunum (Lyon) was a colony founded B.C. 43, the original colonists being certain Romans who had been expelled from Vienne; owing to its origin and its situation, the town attained to great prosperity, and was at this time regarded both by Romans and Gauls as the central point and capital of the three Gallic provinces. (For further particulars *v.* Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. v. p. 79, etc.) The first inhabitants having been Romans, the townsmen can contrast themselves with the people of Vienna (Vienne), a Gallic town which had—apparently under Caligula—acquired the rights of a *colonia civium Romanorum.* They were alike in status, but different in origin and nationality. Vienne was the ancient capital of the Allobroges, and subsequently the residence of the governors of Gallia Narbonensis.

2. **proximum bellum**, Vindicis.

3. **multae in vicem clades**: sc. *fiebant*, the verb being omitted, as occasionally happens in all Latin authors: cp. 84, *vos quidem istud pro me.*

6. **occasione irae** : his anger supplied him with a pretext ; it is implied that avarice was the real reason.

8. **uno amne** (Rhodano) : 'the single stream which severed them united them in mutual hostility.'
Notice the chiastic order of the words.

18. **si fortuna contra daret**, 'in the event of a reverse' : cp. *A*. xv. 13, *quotiens fortuna contra daret.*

LXVI.

2. **perpulerant** seems to be used absolutely, meaning 'they had brought matters so far.'

6. **vestigia** apparently means 'feet' : cp. *servitia* for *servi*, and *ποδῶν βάσεις* for *πόδες*.

8. **trecenos sest.** : about £2 7s.

11. **privatis et promiscuis**, sc. individuals had to contribute all kinds of supplies.

14. **sordidus** is said to mean 'poor' : but it might possibly mean 'sordid,' 'avaricious.' Valens had long been avaricious and had at length suddenly obtained the means of gratifying his passion. Cp. Cic. *in Verrem* ii., *iampridem improbi, repente Cornelii.*

17. **Allobroges**, in Northern Dauphiné and Savoy. **Vocontii**, in Southern Dauphiné and Provence.

18. **itinerum spatia**, etc. : he would make long marches when the towns on his route, in order to avoid having soldiers billeted on them, paid him not to stop.

19. **adversus**, here = with, in respect of : cp. *A*. xi. 17, *beneficentia adversus* (= to) *supplices.*

21. **Lucus Augusti** : Luc.

23. **pecuniae materia**, possibility of making money : *facultas pecuniae sumendae.*

LXVII.

1. **plus praedae**, etc. M. has '*plus praedae ac sanguinis p̃ Caecina.*'

3. **Helvetii**, in W. Switzerland: between the Jura, Lake of Geneva, Rhone, and Rhine.

6. **initium bello**: cp. *sedem bello legere*, ii. 19: and 22, *Othoni comes*. Cicero and Cæsar would say, '*sedem belli legere*.'

unetvicesimae: 61, *primaetvicesima* (*Rapax*). Its head-quarters were at Vindonissa, on the borders of the Helvetian territory.

avaritia ac festinatio, hendiadys: 'impatient greed.'

10. **epistulis** seems to mean a single letter: the plural being used on the (false) analogy of *litterae*. Cp. ii. 55, *recitatae Valentis epistolae ad consules scriptae*.

15. **in modum municipii**, sc. it was properly only a *vicus*, but had grown to the size of a *municipium*,—a somewhat vague description: but cp. *A*. i. 20, where a town is described as *municipii instar*.

16. **amoeno...usu frequens**, sc. much frequented by visitors who came to enjoy the healing springs and beautiful scenery (the last detail is supplied by *amoeno*). The *locus* is *vicus Aquensis*, Baden, not far from Zurich, on the Limmat.

17. **Raetica**: cp. *Raeticae copiae*, 59.

LXVIII.

3. **non arma noscere**, 'they were ignorant of the use of arms': **non ordines sequi**, sc. they did not know their drill.

7. **Raeticae**, quartered in Raetia: distinguished from the natives, *ipsorum Raetorum juventus*.

8. **more militiae exercita**, 'well disciplined': cp. *A*. ii. 22, *more militiae per vexilla et turmas componere*.

10. **medio**: cp. iii. 16, *vacuum medio relinquit iter*.

11. **montem Vocetium**, Boetzberg, in the E. Jura: a hill about half-way between Bâle and Zurich.

16. **Aventicum**, Avenches. Vespasian made it a *colonia*: its full title on an inscription is *Colonia pia Flavia constans emerita Helvetiorum*.

17. **Iulius Alpinus**: commemorated in the forged inscription, purporting to be the epitaph of his daughter: *Julia Alpinula hic jaceo, infelicis patris infelix proles: Deae Avent. sacerdos. Exorare patris necem non potui: male mori in fatis illi erat. Vixi annos* xxiii.

LXIX.

5. **verbis ac minis**, hendiadys. The case is said to be ablative, and *A*. xv. 16, *lacrimis temperare* is quoted in support. But this is a *petitio principii*, for there is nothing to prove that *lacrimis* is the ablative: and the dative is certainly the commoner construction.

Claudius Cossus. *Cossus* in Republican times is a name of the Cornelian gens. Under the empire, provincials admitted to the franchise generally assumed the gentile name of the reigning emperor: we may suppose that this was the origin of the name Claudius in the present instance.

6. **notae facundiae**: cp. *A*. xvi. 29, *Montanus probae juventae.*

8. **ut est mos**, etc. The best mss. have *volgus* and *mutabile*. Heräus reads *mitigavit: mox, ut est volgus mutabile subitis, tam proni in misericordiam quam immodici saevitia fuerant, effusis*, etc. (*x* and *s* appear to be frequently confused in Italian mss.). According to this version, the soldiers were so much moved by Cossus' eloquence as themselves to intercede for Aventicum: which does not seem improbable.

[Almost the whole of this chapter, from *placabilem*, and the following chapters to *incertum* in 75, are wanting in the Med. ms.]

LXX.

4. **Sillanam**: if the reading is correct, this *ala* was probably called after Tiberius' general C. Silius, *legatus pro praetore* in Upper Germany.

5. **pro consule**: Asia and Africa were governed by proconsuls. [But it is noticeable that all governors of senatorial provinces have the title *pro consule* even when they are only *praetorii.*]

7. **Aegyptum** : Nero had intended to go to Egypt : a plan alluded to 31, *Alexandriam praemissos.*

9. **decurionum** : cp. *decurio equitum*, ii. 39.

10. **obstricti** : cp. *A.* xiv. 7, *Caesarum domui obstrictos.*

14. **Mediolanum**, etc. : Milan, Novara, Ivrea, Vercelli.

18. **Germanorum vexillis** may refer to German auxiliary cavalry : cp. *infra—praemissas jam cohortes alasque*, and ii. 11, *equitum vexilla.*

19. **ala Petriana** : mentioned iv. 49 : it was probably called after the raiser of the corps.

20. **Raeticis iugis in Noricum**, sc. over the Arlberg pass (E. of the Lake of Constance). Noricum comprised the modern districts of Upper Styria, E. Tyrol, Salzburg, and Upper Austria.

21. **Urbicum** : the best mss. have *urbi : urbicus* is a name found *A.* xi. 35.

25. **in cetera**, etc. Ms. *certa.* Cp. the same expression in 11.

26. **subsignanum**, sc. the main body of the legion, the men who remained with the *signa* of the maniples : while the auxiliaries served under special *vexilla.*

27. **grave agmen**, 'the heavy marching column' : *grave*, because accompanied by the baggage, siege train, etc., as opposed to the *expediti* who had been sent on. The plural *legionum* is inaccurate, as there was only one complete legion : but cp. ii. 22, *densum legionum agmen ;* where as here the author is speaking of only one entire legion, accompanied by detachments from others.

LXXI.

2. **dilatae voluptates** : Dion and Juvenal (ii. 99) give a different account : Dion Cassius says (64. 8) that *ὅ τε βίος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα τό τε Σπόρῳ συνεῖναι καὶ τὸ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς Νερωνείοις χρῆσθαι πάνυ πάντας ἐξεφόβει.*

5. **Celsum** : cp. 14, 31, 39, 45.

8. **titulus** = *laus.*

10. **exemplum ultro imputavit** : v. 7 and 38.

11. **nec Otho quasi ignosceret**=*et Otho, non quasi ignosceret:* the negative qualifies not the principal but the dependent clause. Cp. ii. 63, *nec ullis probationibus in paenitentiam versus=et, cum nullas prob. adferret, in paen. versus.*

ne hostem, etc. The best mss. have *ne hostes metueret conciliationis adhibens*, of which the general sense seems to be 'trying to ensure his safety by a policy of conciliation': Dion Cassius says οὐκ ἤθελε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπολεμῶσαι. Halm reads, *ne hostem metueret conciliationes adhibens:* Heräus, followed by Nipperdey, *deos testes mutuae reconciliationis adhibens.* The reading in the text is Meiser's conjecture.

16. **celebrata in volgus**, 'generally well spoken of,' 'well received by the mass of the people': cp. *A.* i. 28, *grati in volgus.*

LXXII.

1. **disparibus causis** : for the ablative without *de*, cp. 63, *causis incertis.*

2. **Tigellini** : v. 24.

4. **praefecturam praetorii**, A.D. 62.

6. **crudelitatem mox** : if this is the right reading, it is the only instance in which Tacitus places *mox* after the word to which it belongs : though it is sometimes placed between a substantive and an adjective.

vitiis, distinguished from *virilia scelera* : as Cicero distinguishes *robustior improbitas* and *nequissimum genus levitatis* (*Phil.* ii. 63).

Tigellinus was *intimis principis libidinibus adsumptus*, *A.* xiv. 51.

9. **desertor ac proditor** : synonyms often joined : cp. ii. 44, *desertorem proditoremque increpant.*

14. **quippe tot interfectis**, sc. it is not likely that he would have shrunk from adding one to the long list of his victims. *Quippe=utpote*, used with a participle like ἅτε in Greek.

18. **vices impunitatis**, 'a reciprocal guarantee of impunity.' The criminals hope to be sheltered by those whom they have sheltered themselves.

20. **invidia**, passive : 'unpopularity.'

fora : such as the *forum Augustum, boarium, olitorium.*

22. **sediitiosis** : the ms. reading is *seditionibus* or *seditionis.* Orelli adopted the latter, which is justified by such expressions as *circumsteterat publica expectatio.*

23. **supremae necessitatis** : cp. 3, *supremae necessitates.*

LXXIII.

3. **adversa...fama** : ablative of the attendant circumstance. Translate, 'by various excuses, bringing open discredit on the emperor who connived at them.'

5. **magistra libidinum** : she occupied probably a position somewhat similar to that of Petronius, who was *arbiter elegantiarum* (*maître des menus plaisirs*) in Nero's court.

6. **Macrum,** v. 7. **famem P. R. molita,** sc. by stopping the African corn supplies.

8. **consulari matrimonio** : it is not known who the *consularis* was.

10. **orbitate** : the attractions of rich and childless persons for the fortune-hunter are a favourite theme with satirists and moralists of the empire : cp. Juv. iii. 128,

> "Cum praetor lictorem impellat et ire
> praecipitem iubeat, dudum vigilantibus orbis,
> ne prior Albinam aut Modiam collega salutet :

and Seneca says (*ad Marc.* 19. 2), *in civitate nostra plus gratiae orbitas confert quam eripit.*

LXXIV.

1. **muliebribus blandimentis,** sc. offers that could only tempt women.

Suetonius and Dion Cassius say that Otho offered Vitellius a share in the empire : Plutarch's account agrees with that of Tacitus.

5. **primo mollius,** etc., 'both parties making a foolish and unseemly pretence of the language of friendship.'

7. **in vicem** = *inter se:* a use of the word peculiar to the silver age. Cp. 75, *omnibus in vicem gnaris;* ii. 45, *experti in vicem sumus.*

11. **specie senatus**, 'on the pretext of senatorial authority.'

13. **per simulationem officii**, 'with a pretence of courtesy,' sc. the men were sent ostensibly as a guard of honour: the real intention being that they should make overtures to Vitellius' soldiers.

17. **magnificas** = *magniloquas.*

18. **tanto ante**, an exaggeration: Vitellius was elected by his soldiers only 12 or 13 days before Otho's accession.

LXXV.

2. **ut bello impares**: *ut* is best taken as equivalent to *tanquam*, ὡς.

5. **utrisque frustra fuit**: cp. *Agric.* 13, *conatus frustra fuissent.* Adverbs used as predicates are not uncommon in the Latinity of the empire.

7. **fallentibus**, λανθάνουσιν, 'escaping detection.' They profited by the fact that the people among whom they were did not know each other and so could not suspect strangers: whereas Vitellius' soldiers were mutually acquainted and would at once notice a strange face. **Gnaris**: the ms. reading is *ignaris*, which can only be defended on the supposition that it means *ignotis*, and refers to the *insidiatores:* but then the grammar would be doubtful and the sense unsatisfactory.

9. **Titianum**: Salvius Titianus, Otho's elder brother: proconsul of Africa, A.D. 65.

LXXVI.

2. **Illyrico**: *v.* 9.

6. **Aquitania**: including Gascony and Guienne.

7. **Iulius Cordus**: who had been governor of Cyprus.

9. **provinciam Narbonensem**, the modern Savoy, Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc.

12. **dirimitur**: cp. *A.* ii. 18, *provinciae quae mari dividuntur*, sc. *a nobis.* Virgil uses *dirimo* in the same way by itself: *Aen.* vii. 226, *vel si quem extenta plagarum Quattuor in medio dirimit plaga solis iniqui.*

14. **praetexto sen.**, sc. the alleged authority of the senate. *Praetexto* is the best supported reading: an alternative is *praetextu*, which would mean 'the majesty of the senate': cp. 19.

15. **Iudaicum exercitum**: cp. 10, and ii. 6. Heräus always reads *Iudaeicus: Iudaicus exercitus*, he says, would mean *Iudaeorum exerc.*

22. **ob laetitiam recentis imperii**, 'in honour of the good news' of Otho's accession.

23. **pleraque**, etc., 'acted in general without delay or restraint': sc. by pulling down Galba's statues, etc.

LXXVII.

5. **properando**=*properans:* cp. 23, *inserendo.*

6. **consul**, etc. It was usual for a new emperor to hold the consulship as *consul ordinarius* for four months (*i.e.*, the first *nundinum* of the year) from the Jan. 1 which succeeded his accession. Galba and Vinius were now consuls and would have held office till May 1: Otho and Titianus took their place, but only to retain it till the end of February: the second half of the first *nundinum* being conceded to Verginius and Vopiscus.

According to the *acta* of the Fratres Arvales Otho did not assume the consulship till Jan. 26.

10. **Viennensium**: Vopiscus was a native of or a resident at Vienne. The Viennenses had been zealous partisans of Vindex and Galba.

11. **ceteri consulatus**, etc. Otho made no alteration as to the consuls nominated by his predecessors to hold office (as *consules suffecti*) after May 1: the Sabini had been nominated by Nero for the second *nundinum* (May—August), Antoninus and Celsus by Galba for the third (September—December).

Vitellius also regarded these appointments: but he shortened the tenures of office by one half, so that the Sabini were consuls only through May and June, and their successors for July and August. This he did in order to make room for

Caecina and Valens, who were accordingly nominated for September and October; while Quinctius Atticus and Caecilius Simplex were to hold office for the last two months of the year. Cp. ii. 60, 71; iii. 68, 73. There were thus 12 consuls in this year: the ordinary number at this period being six.

12. **Flavius Sabinus**, not the brother of Vespasian.

15. **honoratis iam**: sc. men who had already held office as praetors or consuls. There is a passage in Seneca which is instructive as enumerating the successive steps of official dignity: *dedit* xii. *fasces, sed non fecit ordinarium consulem: a me numerari voluit annum, sed deest mihi ad sacerdotium: cooptatus in collegium sum, sed cur in unum?* etc. (*de Ira*, iii. 31). Vacancies in the pontifical and augural colleges had since the time of Augustus practically been filled by imperial nominees: that is to say, the emperor 'recommended' certain persons. Since A.D. 14 the election had indeed in theory rested with the senate, who were to select from a list presented to them by the *collegia:* but in general this procedure seems not to have been followed.

18. **C. Rufo**: governor under Claudius of Pontus and Bithynia, and condemned in 49 for extortion.

19. **P. Blaesus** was proconsul of Crete and Cyrene under Nero, and he too was condemned for a like crime.

22. **maiestatem**, sc. *mai. laesam* or *minutam. Minuere maiestatem populi Romani* in Republican times meant to do anything derogatory to the interests or dignity of the State: Cic., *de Invent.* ii. 17, says: *maiestatem minuere est de dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi aut eorum, quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare.* Under the empire *minuta* or *laesa majestas* (*lèse-majesté*) is the term applied to offences against the *princeps* as head of the State. The history of Tiberius' reign shows us that the law relating to *maiestas*, and the extension of its application, is the principal weapon of the *delatores*, practising upon the emperor's suspicions. Thus, as Tacitus says here, the charge of *maiestas* brought such odium on the accuser that by calling extortion or any other crime *maiestas* it was possible to arouse public sympathy for the person accused: and so the good laws—in this case the *leges repetundarum*—lost their power.

LXXVIII.

3. **Hispalensibus et Emer.**, the inhabitants of Seville and Merida.

4. **familiarum adiectiones**: incorporation of new families in these places, which were apparently *coloniae:* cp. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 102, *colonos novos adscribi posse rescripsi;* Liv. xliii. 17, *eo anno postulantibus Aquileiensium legatis ut numerus colonorum augeretur, mille et quingentae familiae ex SCto scriptae.*

Lingonibus: either these are Spanish Lingones, or the franchise was given to the Gallic Lingones before the news came of their adhesion to Vitellius (53). Heräus reads *Lanciensibus;* Lipsius, *Lusonibus* or *Illurconibus.*

5. **Maur. civitates**, sc. the revenues of Moorish communities, such as Tingis and Lixus.

7. **ostentui** (M. *ostentai*)*:* 'rather showy than permanent. Halm reads *ostentata,* on the ground (as Heräus says) that Tacitus always uses this instead of the participle of *ostendo*. which only appears in the substantive *ostentum.*

9. **statuas Poppaeae**, pulled down by the people in 62 (*A.* xiv. 61).

12. **imagines N. proponerent**, sc. exposed to public view. Plin. *N. H.* 35. 4, *tabulam pictam proponere.*

14. **tanquam...adstruerent**, sc. meaning it as a compliment.

15. **Neroni Othoni acclamavit**, 'greeted him with shouts of "Nero Otho."' It is the tendency of Latin to incorporate the words of an address or exclamation with the construction of the entire sentence, where we rather allow them to stand separately: cp. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 30, *Cicéronem exclamavit*=he called out 'Cicero.' Plut. (*O.* 3) quotes Cluvius Rufus to the effect that Otho sent rescripts to Spain τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος θετὸν ὄνομα προσγεγραμμένον ἔχοντα τῷ τοῦ Ὄθωνος.

in suspenso tenuit, sc. he neither refused nor formally accepted the name.

LXXIX.

2. **sine cura habebantur**, 'were neglected.'

Rhoxolani, in modern Bessarabia, probably.

4. **Moesiam**: the reading of M. *ad Moesiam* can scarcely be maintained: *inrumpere* in Tacitus is usually followed by the simple accusative, as 40, *forum,* 61, *Italiam,* etc. Besides, *ad* in combination with place-names does not mean 'into.'

Hence Heräus alters *ad* to *adacti*: Nipperdey, retaining *ad*, prefixes it to *novem milia*.

5. **ex ferocia et successu**, hendiadys: 'flushed with victory.'

7. **tertia legio**, whose headquarters were ordinarily in Syria. But the troops had been ordered to Rome on the news of Vindex' revolt, and were now on their way through Moesia: *sub exitu Neronis translata ex Syria in Moesiam* (Suet. *Vespas.* 6).

9. **dispersi aut cupidine praedae graves**, M. There seems to be no sufficient reason for altering this to *cupidine praedae dispersi aut graves* (Heräus), or *dispersi ante cupidine praedae* (Halm).

15. **gladii quos praelongos**, etc., 'long two-handed swords.' For the position of the epithet, in the relative clause, cp. Virg. *Aen.* iii. 546, *praeceptis Heleni, dederat quae maxima.*

17. **catafractarum pondere**, ablative of the attendant circumstance: 'their horses slipped and their mail encumbered them.' Persian soldiers also were sometimes armed cap-à-pie in this manner: Ammian. Marc. 16. 10 speaks of *cataphracti equites, quos clibanarios dictitant Persae, thoracum muniti tegminibus et limbis ferreis cincti, ut Praxitelis manibus polita crederes simulacra, non viros.* Hertzberg (*History of Greece*, vol. 2, p. 233) tells a similar story of the defeat and annihilation of the Franco-Italian chivalry by the Catalans at Orchomenos in 1311: the chargers of the heavily-armed knights sinking in the soft ground, the riders fell an easy prey to their light-armed enemies.

21. **facilis lorica** = *habili lorica indutus*: cp. 40, *rapidi equis.*

22. **lanceis**: cp. ii. 29, iii. 27.

25. **hiemis ac volnerum**: the old reading was *hic miseria volnerum*; M. has *hic mia.*

27. **triumphali statua**: crowned with laurel and adorned with a *toga picta* and *tunica palmata.* This was the highest distinction which could be accorded to a successful general; for no one except the emperor could now receive the honour of a *triumphus.* Triumphs had been accorded to generals who won a victory *suis auspiciis*; and under the empire armies fought theoretically under the *auspicia* of the emperor.

28. **F. Aurelius**, grandfather of Antoninus Pius: he commanded the third legion.

T. Iulianus, commanding the seventh legion: cp. ii. 85.

N. Lupus, commander of the eighth legion.

LXXX.

2. **sept. dec. cohortem,** probably a *cohors civium Romanorum.* It was with this cohort that the outbreak originated; but when the soldiers belonging to it reached Rome it would appear that they were joined by the *praetoriani,* of whom Tacitus is evidently speaking in his description of the disturbance in the city, and to whom Otho's speech is addressed the next day. Moreover Suetonius charges the outbreak on the praetorians.

6. **vacuus,** 'at his ease,' 'uninterrupted.'

10. **evaluit in tumultum,** 'ended in uproar.' Cp. *A.* xiv. 58, *multa secutura quae ad bellum usque evalescerent.*

cupidinem sui: αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος, as Homer says.

12. **tanquam...armarentur,** 'imagining that the intention was to arm them.'

14. **in occasionem praedarum,** 'for the chance of plunder.'

16. **obsequia.. abstulerat,** 'rendered it impossible for them to show their obedience.'

19. **urbem petunt**: 16 miles from Ostia.

LXXXI.

2. **celebre,** governing the ablatives, *feminis virisque.*

6. **detegi**: sc. showed that their firmness was not real.

11. **miserat...iussit**: he had at once sent...and now he commanded them, etc.

14. **rari,** 'very few': cp. ii. 84, *rarissimus quisque.*

16. **incertas,** 'obscure': cp. *A.* iii. 42, *incertis latebris victores frustratur.* It might also mean 'unsafe.'

LXXXII.

4. **Martiale tribuno,** *cohortis praetoria*: cp. 28.

5. **praefecto legionis,** *classicae.* This is the earliest mention of a *praefectus legionis*: probably he is the same as the

praefectus castrorum (cp. *A.* i. 20). His duty seems to have been to command in the absence of the *legatus*, and at all times to superintend the arrangements of the camp. He is also called *praepositus legionis.* Under the later empire the term *praefectus* supersedes *legatus legionis.*

15. **tristitiae**, 'sullenness.'

18. **mitius aut horridius**: sc. *alter mitius alter horridius.* Cp. *A.* i. 55, *Arminium ac Segestem, insignem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide* (sc. *alterum perfidia, alterum fide*). **Horridius** = with harshness.

quina milia, about £40.

20. **atque illum.** *Atque* means here, as often, 'at once': cp. Virg. *Georg.* i. 202, *si brachia forte remisit, Atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni.*

21. **militiae insignibus**: those of *tribuni* were the *tunica laticlavia* or *angusticlavia, parazonium,* and golden ring (the *semestre aurum* of Juv. vii. 89); among those of centurions, the staff of vinewood is most frequently mentioned.

22. **otium**, 'discharge.'

sensit invidiam, 'were conscious of the discredit thus cast upon them.' *Compositus* here is equivalent to *sedatus.*

LXXXIII.

4. **ambitioso**, 'courting' or 'dependent upon popular favour.'

7. **subita modestia**, 'sudden assertion of discipline.'

12. **supersunt**: cp. 51, *supererant.*

13. **sed veni**: the predicate is inserted in the second limb of the sentence, as in *A.* vi. 29, *nihil hunc amicitia Seiani, sed labefecit...Macronis odium.* This practice is said to be common in poetry.

14. **modum caritatis**, 'to set some limits to your affection.'

15. **cupiditate**, 'passion.'

19. **honestas rerum causas**, 'honourable motives.'

23. **ratio rerum aut occas. velocitas**, 'the necessity of forming plans and grasping the swiftly-passing opportunity.'

24. **ita se ducum**, etc. : sc. the whole theory of discipline rests on this principle, that it is expedient, etc.

28. **imperium intercidit** : sc. the general's power is gone, and armies can no more be led. *Intercidit:* we should expect the subjunctive ; but perhaps the indicative expresses that the thing does actually happen—not only that it would occur in a certain contingency.

illic : sc. *in bello*, as opposed to *in urbe*.

30. **consternatio**, 'outbreak': as ii. 49, *consternatione ac licentia militum.*

31. **crediderim**, potential : 'I can believe.' Cp. *concesserim* (=I can grant), ii. 37.

LXXXIV.

1. **vos quidem istud**, sc. *fecistis.* For a similar omission cp. *A.* i. 43, *melius et amantius ille.*

8. **confusi...ruamus** : the subjunctive depends on *ut* to be supplied from *ne* ; cp. iv. 52, *ne criminantium nuntiis temere accenderetur, integrumque se ac placabilem filio ostenderet.*

10. **res militares continentur**, 'the wellbeing of an army depends on,' etc. *Contineri* is thus used often by Cicero : cp. *pro Sest.* 92, *iudicia quibus omne ius continetur.*

16. **caput imperii**, the senate, as the nominally supreme deliberative body. *Decora omnium provinciarum:* sc. the distinguished provincials in the senate.

19. **Germani** : instead of *exercitus Germanici*, as if they were actually foreigners.

20. **depoposcerint** has a potential sense (corresponding to ἂν with the optative) like *crediderint* in 83.

21. **cuius splendore...praestringimus**, 'whose lustre throws into the shade,' 'forms a bright contrast to,' etc.

28. **reparari promisca sunt**, sc. *promiscum est ea reparari;* just as we say, 'they are easy to restore.' This construction in Latin is copied from the Greek idiom : ῥᾴδιά ἐστι ποιεῖσθαι ταῦτα being as good Greek as ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι ποιεῖν ταῦτα.

29. **rerum**, sc. of our empire.

30. **auspicato** = with all due solemnity. Cp. Cic. *de Div.* i. 3, *Romulus auspicato urbem condidisse traditur.* Ablatives absolute are used as neuter substantives often in Tacitus and Livy: cp. ii. 49, *explorato iam profectos.*

LXXXV.

1. **apta** is inserted by Meiser: Orelli read *oratio ad perstringendos.* The text in the ms. is confused.

6. **urbi**: M. has *urbis.*

7. **militibus**: Orelli read *et militibus* with M.: which affords no satisfactory sense if the full stop after *obiecerat* be retained. There is nothing to correspond to *et* which precedes *militibus;* we should expect another *et,* introducing the mention of some other disturbing agency. (*Et* before *maligna* simply connects *habitu* and *cura.*) We must then either omit *et* altogether, or (with the Buda ms.) change it into *erat* (*facies belli erat*); or, removing the period after *obiecerat,* make *militibus,* etc., dependent on the clause of which *credebant* is the principal verb.

8. **maligna cura in,** 'looking with evil eyes on.'

11. **ad studia partium noscenda,** 'to ascertain the state of party feeling.'

13. **secreta domuum**: cp. 26, *incerta noctis.*

16. **conversis**: apparently when this construction (passive participle followed by accusative of respect) occurs elsewhere in Tacitus, the participle is always in the nominative. Hence some follow the reading *conversi,* making *plurimum trepidationis,* etc., a separate sentence.

17. **curiam,** probably the Temple of Concord.

arduus...modus, sc. *difficile erat modum servare.*

18. **ne contumax silentium,** sc. *esset.* For a similar omission cp. *A.* i. 7, *ne laeti excessu principis.*

20. **versare sententias** is said to mean 'they brought forward one resolution after another.'

21. **hostem et parricidam**: the same terms were applied to Catiline by the Senate. *Parricida* = traitor.

22. **vulgaribus conviciis**, abuse in general terms, without reference to any special facts.

LXXXVI.

3. **vestibulo Capitolii**: probably the *area Capitolina* or open space on the Capitoline. *Cella Junonis*, in the temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

9. **tantum in metu** : cp. *A*. i. 28, *ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem perculsae semel mentes.*

13. **ponte sublicio**, the bridge on piles (*sublicae*) crossing the Tiber from the Velabrum : its modern successor is the Ponte Rotto.

14. **secura casuum** : cp. *securi pelagi atque mei* in the *Aeneid.*

[From *inopia* to ii. 2, *Cyprum*, there is a lacuna in the Medicean ms.]

17. **penuria alimentorum**. The vegetable market (*forum olitorium*) was overflowed : and the bakers' quarter (ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἐπὶ πράσει διαπωλοῦσι σῖτον, Plut. *O*. 4) as well. Perhaps also the public storehouses of corn had been swept away.

Inundations of the Tiber were frequent occurrences in the early empire, in spite of all possible precautions : we read of five in the reign of Augustus. The danger seems to have been somewhat lessened by Claudius' improvement of the Tiber mouth.

18. **insulae** were large buildings or isolated blocks of houses, several stories high, and divided into apartments (*meritoria*), which were let to lodgers : *domus*, on the other hand, are the private residences of the richer classes. On the dangers and general inconveniences of the *insulae*, cp. Juv. iii. 190-238.

21. **via Flaminia**, leading from Rome through Umbria to Ariminum.

esset obstructum : the gender is ruled by the apposition of *iter belli* to *campus Martius* and *via Flaminia*. The obstruction, Suetonius says, was as far off as the 20th milestone on the road (*O*. 8.)

22. **a fortuitis**, etc. It is best to put a comma after *obstructum*, and to construe *a fortuitis*, etc., with *vertebatur*: lit. 'was turned away from its chance causes into a prodigy,'

i.e., was interpreted as a prodigy, without respect to its accidental or natural causes.

LXXXVII.

1. **lustrata urbe**, on account of the above-mentioned portents. This purification would take the form of an *amburbiale sacrificium*, the victim to be sacrificed being led round the *pomerium*.

4. **classe**, at Fréjus.

5. **reliquos caesorum**, 'the surviving remnant of the decimated troops': cp. 6.

7. **in custodia**: the ms. reading however is *in custodiam*, which is justified by Liv. xxii. 25, *in custodiam habitum;* and Caes. *B. C.* i. 25, *in potestatem habere.*

in numeros legionis, sc. so that they formed the different parts of a legion—centuries, maniples, cohorts. In ii. 11 they are called *classicorum ingens numerus.*

8. **honoratioris militiae**, 'of serving in a more honourable arm' than the marines.

10. **vires et robur**: cp. ii. 11, *plus virium ac roboris. Vires* means numerical strength; *robur*, fighting power.

11. **summa**, 'control.'

12. **S. Clementi**: mentioned in an inscription as *praefectus castrorum* in Egypt: possibly commander of the two legions quartered there.

14. **tribunatum**, *cohortis urbanae:* cp. 20.

15. **Moschus** had held the same office under Nero and Galba. The *cura navium* in the case of the marine commissariat, etc. The mss. have *Oscus.*

16. **immutatus** ('unchanged'): Orelli read *comitatus.* The mss. have *immutatus, imitatus, invitatus.* Heräus follows a reading *minister datus*, which he thinks may have been written *minidatus.*

17. **Annius Gallus**, consul 64 A.D.

19. **urbanae mil. impiger**, 'active in garrison service.' Cp. ii. 5, *acer militiae.* Genitives of this kind are common in the poets and post-Augustan prose writers.

21. **maturitatem**, 'ripe understanding': *ut cuique erat*, as we should say 'respectively.'

LXXXVIII.

2. **C. Dolabella**, who had been spoken of as a possible successor to Galba (Plut. *G.* 23). Vitellius caused him to be put to death (ii. 53).

coloniam Aquinatem, in Latium, the modern Aquino.

3. **obscura**, mean, unbecoming a man of his rank: *i.e.*, he was not actually imprisoned. His *vetustum nomen* is one well known to the history of the closing days of the Republic.

7. **expedire**, 'to take the field': cp. 10, *expedierat.*

8. **eodem cultu**, 'occupying the same position': *aeque ab Othone cultus.* Cp. Sall. *Jug.* 5, *eodem cultu habere.*

10. **motae curae**: others read *cura.* Whether we adopt the singular or plural, the meaning is the same: 'general alarm was aroused.'

metu aut periculo=*metu periculi.*

12. **desides**: *desidia* is want of occupation; *segnitia*, natural sluggishness.

13. **occultare et abdere**, synonymous terms: cp. *latrocinia et raptus* (46) and *desertor ac proditor* (72).

20. **afflicta fide in pace usi**, 'whose credit was exhausted in peace.' For the thought cp. Lucan i. 180, *concussa fides et multis utile bellum.*

Halm reads *afflicta fide in pace anxii;* Orelli, *afflicta fide in pace:* the ms. reading is *in pace ac si.*

LXXXIX.

1. **magnitudine nimia**: the unwieldy size of the population is not a very good reason for its being *communium curarum expers* (taking no interest in politics): Heräus inserts *imperii,* which certainly gives a better sense.

5. **quae motu**: the antecedent is of course *pretiis*, not *mala.*

8. **res Caesarum composuit,** 'consolidated the imperial power.'

11. **pertinuere** is the reading of the best mss.: Orelli read *rei publicae pertimuere.* The *pacis adversa* would include such evils as, for instance, the power of the *delatores* under Tiberius.

12. **Scriboniana**: Furius Camillus Scribonianus, *legatus Caesaris in Dalmatia,* had attempted in 42 to raise a revolt: but the enterprise was crushed *intra quintum diem* (Suet. *Claud.* 13).

19. **moras religionemque,** etc., 'tried to delay Otho by reminding him that the sacred duty of replacing the shields had not been performed.' The twelve ancilia were taken from the temple of Mars or the *curia Saliorum* (both on the Palatine) on March 1, and carried in the dances of the Salii: at the end of the month they were replaced. Otho left Rome about the middle or towards the end of March.

21. **Caecina Alpes transgressus extimulabat**: cp. *A.* i. 8, *occisus Cæsar aliis pessimum aliis pulcherrimum facinus videbatur.*

XC.

3. **sectionum**: v. 20. *reliquiae sectionum* (cp. Virgil's *reliquiae Danaum*) means 'what was left after Nero's sales of confiscated property': it is like *reliquos caesorum,* 87. What is here meant is property which had either not yet been sold, or for which the price had not yet been paid. But in general the property had been sold, and the price at once exacted by the officials of the *fiscus*: so that there was very little to give back, and the *donum* was *usu sterile.*

9. **modeste,** 'with moderation.'

15. **Trachali,** consul in 68. He was saved from punishment for his services to Otho by the influence of his kinswoman Galeria, wife of Vitellius: cp. ii. 60. Quintilian says of him (12. 5), *cum diceret, eminere inter aequales videbatur: ea corporis sublimitas erat, is ardor oculorum, frontis auctoritas, gestus praestantia.*

Othonem: omitted by Heräus.

17. **latum,** 'copious,' 'fluent.'

20. **imperatorem Augustum**: Augustus is called *imperator par excellence*, because after 40 B.C. he commonly bore the title in place of his *praenomen* Caius. Tiberius and Claudius did not imitate him: but their successors commonly used the word as a *praenomen*.

22. **libidine servitii**, *entraînement pour la servitude* (Louandre): and this is the best rendering. It is also explained as meaning 'from their slavish humour,' *servitii* being then equivalent to *servorum*: everyone tried to curry favour for himself, just as slaves do (*ut in familiis*).

24. **profectus Otho**, according to Suet. *O.* 8, on March 24: but it is strange that he should have formally handed over the government to the Senate (*commendata patribus republica*) on March 14, if he intended to remain in Rome for ten days longer.

LIBER II.

I.

2. **initia causasque imperio**, sc. was laying the foundation of a dynasty. Cp. 1. 15, *initia causasque motus*; and for the dative, 1. 67, *initium bello*.

varia sorte, Lipsius' emendation for the ms. reading, *varie ortum*.

3. **prosperum**, to Vespasian and Titus; *exitio* to Domitian.

5. **missus a patre**: according to Suetonius, Vespasian suspected Galba of plots against his life: Suet. *G.* 23.

11. **destinandi**: cp. 1. 12.

15. **Achaiae urbe**: by this otherwise unnecessary addition Tacitus means to call special attention to the turning point of Titus' voyage. He had got no farther than Achaia when at Corinth he received the message, etc.

21. **offensam...victoris** = *offensum iri victorem*: cp. *arma Vitellii* = *arma sumpsisse Vitellium*.

II.

3. **Berenices**: sister of Herod Agrippa and great grand-daughter of Herod the Great. She was married first to her uncle, then to Polemo, king of Pontus, whom she eventually left, and lived at the court of her brother. She twice visited Titus at Rome: cp. Suet. *Tit.* 7.

7. **moderatior** is the reading of the best mss.: al. *modestior*. *Moderatior* gives the best sense, *i.e.*, that of moral self-control.

8. **laeva maris**: sc. the Mediterranean waters to the left of the direct line from Corinth to Syria.

9. **audentioribus,** as crossing the open sea instead of hugging the shore and crossing from island to island. Cp. *A.* ii. 78, *lato mari pergere in Syriam.*

12. **haud fuerit longum,** 'it may not be tedious.' **Fuerit** = *potest esse*: cp. 76, *a contumelia quam a laude propius fuerit.*

initia religionis, 'origin of the cult.'

III.

1. **Aeriam**: cp. *A.* iii. 62.

3. **Cinyra**: son of Apollo and Pharnace, according to Hesychius. He is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* λ. 20) and Pindar (*Pyth.* 2. 5). Pliny says that he lived to the age of 160 (*N.H.* 7. 48).

4. **conceptam mari**: ἀναδυομένην.

5. **accitam,** 'came from elsewhere.'

Cilicem: Cic., *de Div.* i. 2, ascribes the development of the science of divination by the flight and cry of birds more especially to the Cilicians.

8. **stirpem antecelleret**: *antecellere* is properly intransitive, but is used κατὰ σύνεσιν with the accusative; also in *A.* xiv. 55, *nondum omnes fortuna antecellis.* In the same way *praecellere* and *praeminere* are occasionally used by Tacitus with the accusative; and it is a common tendency with him and other post-Augustan writers to give a transitive force to verbs otherwise intransitive. Cp. I. 87, *bonos anteibat.*

10. **hostiae**: not a propitiatory sacrifice, but killed in order that the entrails may be inspected.

13. **precibus**, etc., 'prayer and fire alone is employed in the worship at the altars.' *Adolere* is expression belonging to ritual, meaning 'to kindle the fire of sacrifice upon' an altar. Cp. Virg. *Aen.* vii. 71, *castis adolet altaria taedis.* In the present passage *adolentur* is closely connected only with *igne puro;* were *ignis* not mentioned, it would be impossible to say *precibus adolentur.*

14. **in aperto**: Eustathius, in a note on *Odyss. o.* 362, calls the altar *βωμὸς αἴθριος.*

15. **continuus orbis**, etc.: sc. a conical stone. Tacitus prefers a circumlocutory description to the technical term *conus*, just as he avoids the medical term *podagra* in i. 9, using instead *debilitas pedum.*

This stone may have been either a phallic symbol or some other kind of fetich, a survival of an older cultus, like the Hermae at Athens. On such fetich stones see Mr. Lang's *Custom and Myth*, p. 224.

Servius, in a note on *Aen.* i. 724, says, *apud Cyprios Venus in modum umbilici, vel ut quidam volunt metae, colitur.* Herodian (5. 3) speaks of a sacred stone at Emesa which has a *κονοειδὲς σχῆμα.*

IV.

2. **quaeque alia**: sc. *auditisque aliis, quae*, etc.

antiquitatibus, 'antiquarian legend,' *ἀρχαιολογία.*

5. **per ambages**, not in plain words, fearing danger.

9. **secreto**, 'a private interview,' *tête-à-tête.* Cp. iv. 49, *secreto eorum nemo adfuit.*

10. **patrem**: at Caesarea in Judea.

11. **ingens rerum fiducia**: for the method of expression cp. 5, *praecipua concordiae fides Titus.*

12. **profligaverat bellum**, sc. had nearly finished. For this sense of the word cp. Mon. Ancyr., where Augustus writes, *coepta profligataque opera a patre meo perfeci.*

14. **ingenium montis**: cp. i. 51. The *mons* includes four hills.

16. **tres**: cp. i. 10.

18. **aemulatio et gloria** = *aemulatio gloriae:* emulation of their comrades' renown.

21. **belli dolor** (Meiser): the ms. reading is *belli labor*: but besides the awkward repetition of *labor*, it gives no satisfactory sense. *Ardor* and *amor* have been suggested. Heräus reads *labores*, agreeing with *inexperti*.

22. **classes**: besides the Pontic fleet, there were ships stationed off the coasts of Syria and Egypt.

reges: Antiochus of Commagene, Agrippa of Judaea, Sohaemus of Sophene. Cp. 81.

V.

3. **diuque**: *diu* in this sense is an archaic form only found in *interdiu* and as here with *noctu* in Plautus and Sallust.

4. **fortuito**: τῷ τυχόντι, anything that offered itself.

6. **si avaritia abesset**=*si afuisset*. Cp. 62, *si luxuriae temperaret avaritiam non timeres*.

8. **dispositu**, etc., 'a skilful civil administrator.' For the ablative cp. *jure peritus* (Cic. *pro Cluent.* 107).

10. **temperamentum**, sc. both could have been fused into an excellent emperor.

14. **in medium**, 'for their common interest': cp. 37.

15. **fides**, 'pledge,' 'guarantee.'

19. **adsciscebantur**, 'were attracted to either side.'

VI.

2. **praecipitibus**: M. *precibus*. Heräus reads *pernicibus*.

3. **tarda mole**, sc. the East was slow in mustering its forces to face the task of a civil war.

5. **validissima civium arma**, 'the fiercest civil wars.'

8. **haud prosperi exitus**: the sense apparently is that the defeated leaders crossed the sea only to perish; there was no serious fighting in the East.

10. **inspecti**: no member of the imperial house had been in the East since Germanicus, in the reign of Tiberius.

12. **vario eventu**: cp. *A.* xv. 27, *multa Romanis secunda, quaedam Parthis evenisse.*

19. **continua,** sc. adjoining their province.

20. **quicquid...praetenditur,** 'the line of forts on the Armenian frontier.'

VII.

2. **impetus,** 'enthusiasm.'

3. **bellum ruere in,** sc. is destructive to; a conjecture of Meiser's. In the ms. the only intelligible word is *bellum.* Orelli read *belli exitum,* constructed with *expectari.*

9. **nuper**: Vespasian and Mucian were the last to agree upon the scheme in reference to which the soldiers had long been in accord.

12. **ambiguae domi res,** 'the perilous position of their own fortunes.' *Domi* is substituted for *domesticae* owing to the accompanying adjective: cp. *res angusta domi* (Juv.).

VIII.

2. **velut,** in the sense of *tanquam:* cp. *A.* iv. 67, *ea spreta ab illis velut pararent obiciebantur.*

3. **super exitu**: cp. iv. 40, *consulendum tali super re principem respondit.*

5. **ceterorum casus in contextu operis,** sc. in the lost books. There seems to have been a general expectation of Nero's reappearance: the Christians thought that the prophecies of a coming Antichrist referred to him. There was another pseudo-Nero in 88 A.D.

6. **Ponto**: either the ancient kingdom of Pontus (which, in 63 B.C., had been transformed into the province of Bithynia), or what was known as 'Pontus Polemoniacus,' the territory of the subject prince Polemo, lying west of Trebizond.

8. **propior ad fallendum fides,** 'which supplied him with ready credentials for his deception.'

11. **Cythnum**, one of the western Cyclades, south of Ceos—the modern Thermia.

12. **commeantium**, 'going on leave' (*commeatus*).

15. **dextras** : cp. i. 54.

20. **gliscentem** = *crescentem* : a favourite word with Tacitus and Sallust.

IX.

1. **Pamphyliam** : at first a part of Cilicia, and since 25 A.D. a separate province, with the addition (in 43) of Lycia; its administration had been united by Galba to that of Galatia.

8. **ut eum...sisterent** : the demonstrative is used instead of the reflexive pronoun. Cp. *A.* iv. 67, *quamquam edicto monuisset ne quis quietem ejus* (= *suam*) *inrumperet.* This irregularity occurs occasionally in Cicero and Caesar, and is frequently met with in late Latin.

9. **nutantes seu dolo** : cp. *A*. vi. 12, *una seu plures fuere.*

10. **firmaverunt** = *ad-* or *confirmaverunt* : in accordance with Tacitus' usual preference for the simple rather than the compound verb.

11. **ex fide**, 'faithfully.'

13. **oculis**, *caesiis et hebetioribus* (Suet. *Ner.* 51).

X.

3. **Vibius Crispus** of Vercelli was a celebrated orator and *delator* who had been consul under Nero, and subsequently governed Africa under Vespasian. He died towards the end of the century. Juvenal speaks of him (iv. 81) as one of Domitian's advisers : *venit et Crispi jucunda senectus, cujus erant mores qualis facundia, mite ingenium.*

6. **delationes factitaverat** : cp. Cic. *Brut.* 34, *accusationem factitare.*

7. **ad cognitionem senatus vocabat**, 'impeached him before the senate.' From the time of Augustus the senate had exercised judicial functions in reference to important criminal cases : cp. for instance *A.* ii. 27 and following chapters.

9. **accusatorum causae**: cp. iv. 42, *senatus...occiso Nerone delatores et ministros more majorum puniendos flagitabat.*

10. **senatus consultum varie jactatum**, sc. it was not consistently acted upon, sometimes disregarded.

12. **retinebat**, etc. The reading of M. is *retinebat ad hunc terroris et*, etc. Orelli read *retinebatur. ad hoc terroris et*, which would mean that the decree gained or lost strength, but was never actually repealed. Other editors read, *retinebat adhuc terroris*, which is not satisfactory: Halm's version is better, *retinebatur adhuc terrori. Set propria*, etc.

13. **incubuerat...pervertere**: cp. Virg. *Georg*. iv. 249.

fratris, Vibius Secundus, banished by Nero in 60 for maladministration in Mauretania (*A*. xiv. 28). He must have been subsequently accused of *maiestas* by Faustus, but the fact is not elsewhere noticed.

16. **aeque...quam**: *v*. i. 4.

XI.

3. **quattuor legiones**: *v*. i. 9.

4. **bina milia**: either '2000 from each,' or = *duo milia*: Orelli thinks that latter more probable: for if 8000 men were to be sent on in advance, why (he asks) should the number be made up by detachments rather than by one entire legion? On the other hand, *ipsae* points to the detaching of a certain number from each legion: and cp. 83.

5. **septima a Galba conscripta**, *i.e.*, not the *septima Claudia*.

7. **rebellione Brit. conpressa**, by Suetonius Paulinus, 61 A.D.: cp. *A*. xiv. 29, *Agric*. 15. It is not certain how the fourteenth legion came to be stationed in Dalmatia: according to one opinion the men were on their way to the East, for the Albanian war (cp. i. 6), when they were arrested by the news of Nero's fall. Others think that Nero had summoned the legion to Italy from Germany—where it was usually quartered—to serve against Vindex, and the Galba subsequently sent it to Dalmatia. On the whole, the former view is the more probable, as there is no mention of any entire legion quartered at Rome on Galba's arrival there, except the *septima Galbiana* and the *legio classica*.

10. **quo plus**, etc.: cp. i. 14, *quo suspectior sollicitis adoptanti placebat.*

13. **equitum vexilla**, *praetorianorum*.

14. **legione prima** : cp. i. 6.

15. **severis ducibus usurpatum**, *e.g.*, by D. Brutus before Mutina. For the dative cp. *procuratoribus*, i. 11.

17. **V. Spurinna** distinguished himself in this war by a courageous defence of Placentia, and was a successful general under Trajan. Cp. Plin. *Ep.* ii. 7.

Padi ripas : especially the country about Placentia and Cremona.

18. **prima consiliorum** : Otho's first intention had been to occupy Gallia Narbonensis : cp. i. 87.

21. **speculatorum lecta corpora**: cp. *Aen.* ix. 272, *lectissima matrum corpora.*

ceteris cohortibus : as the meaning is 'the remaining parts of the cohorts,' the more usual word would be *reliquis*.

22. **veterani e praetorio** : *vexillarii* (18). These were soldiers who had served their time in the guard, and were now *exauctorati*, and only called out in special emergencies. Cp. *A*. i. 17.

classicorum : cp. i. 87.

24. **pedes ire** is Madvig's conjecture in place of the ms. *pedestre:* it is a probable correction, supported by the fact that in 28 M. has *ire virorum* for *Trevirorum*, with the same confusion between *I* and *T*. Orelli read *pedester*.

25. **incomptus** : Juvenal however says that the emperor took a looking-glass with him : ii. 102, *res memoranda novis annalibus atque recenti Historia speculum civilis sarcina belli.*

XII.

3. **naves** : the fleets off Misenum and Ravenna.

9. **ambitioso imperio** : cp. i. 83.

10. **corruptus** : M. *corruptius*. The sense is that he was destitute of principle and so relaxed the reins of discipline.

13. **rapere**, the simple instead of the compound verb *diripere:* cp. *Aen.* ii. 374, *rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergama.*

14. **metus**, causes of fear, dangers : cp. 19, *metum ac discrimen.*

16. **securitate pacis** is best taken as abl. *instrumenti*, like *belli malo :* they were undone by their false confidence and (as

the immediate cause) by the horrors of war. But Heräus takes it as an abl. of the attendant circumstance : 'confident of peace, they were assailed by war.'

17. **maritimas Alpes** : a small province (governed by a procurator, cp. i. 2) comprising the country about the Var : it was created by Augustus B.C. 14.

18. **M. Maturus** : cp. iii. 42, where he is mentioned as a faithful adherent of Vitellius.

19. **arcere...intendit** : cp. 22, *petere intendit.*

21. **castra**, 'military service.'

XIII.

2. **Albintimilium** (shortened from Albium Intemelium), Ventimiglia.

5. **insontium** : Agricola's mother was killed at this time: cp. *Agric.* 7.

9. **latere**, infin. of *lateo:* it seems unlikely that it is the abl. of *latus:* though Church and Brodribb think it possible.

XIV.

2. **in verba Vitellii adactae**, 'which had sworn allegiance to Vitellius': cp. 73, *adactum in verba ejus Orientem.* The phrase is properly applied to the administering of the military oath : soldiers *jurant in verba alicuius.* Cp. i. 55, *sacramento adactae.*

4. **coloniarum**, such as Aquae Sextiae, Narbo Martius, Forum Julii, Arausio (Aix, Narbonne, Fréjus, Orange).

8. **vacuo mari**, 'if the seaboard were left unprotected': or, 'because they had no enemy to contend with by sea' : either sense is satisfactory. Cp. iii. 2, *vacuum Illyricum mare.*

11. **vetus loci auxilium** : Heräus connects *vetus* with *loci*, translating 'long familiar with the country' (*mit der Terrain vertraut*), and comparing *A.* vi. 12, *scientiae caerimoniarumque vetus.* But it is easier to regard *loci* simply as a possessive genitive.

12. **Pannonii nondum sub signis**, sc. serving as a separate detachment under their own *vexillum*. As there were Pannonians (17 *Pannoniorum cohors*) on Otho's side, it has been proposed here to read *Alpini:* but it is quite possible that Pannonian auxiliaries were attached to the German armies before the Vitellian revolt. We see from i. 68 that Vitellius had a cohort of Thracians on his side.

14. **colles mari propinquos**, between Ventimiglia and Fréjus.

15. **exurgeret**, *i.e.*, form on the slope of the hill, the rear ranks standing higher than the front.

16. **praetorianus miles** : these are the *plerique e praetorianis* of i. 87 : besides these there were 5 praetorian cohorts serving under Spurinna on the Po (11).

19. **Alpinos**, sc. the *Ligurum cohors* mentioned above.

28. **obtentui fugientibus**, sc. darkness sheltered their flight. This is better than 'darkness supplied them with a reasonable excuse for flight,' a translation which has been suggested.

XV.

2. **accitis** *ex colonia Foroiuliensi:* cp. 14.

5. **sidente** : instead of the (more usual) compound *residente*.

12. **Antipolim**, Antibes : **Albigaunum**, Albenga. *Albig. interioris Liguriae* (*oppidum* being omitted) is an imitation of the Greek idiom : cp. *A.* v. 10, *Piraeum Atticae orae.*

XVI.

4. **procuratoris**: Nero transferred the hitherto imperial province of Sardinia and Corsica to the senate; yet, being a small province, it appears to have been still governed by a procurator.

tanta mole belli, sc. his rashness could not influence the issue of a war between combatants so powerful.

5. **in summam**: Orelli retained the ms. reading *in summa* instead of the more usual *in summam* on the authority of *A.* xiii. 38, *nihil in summa proficiebatur;* but perhaps *in*

summam is the true reading there also. For *profutura* Freinsheim reads *profectura, proficio* being frequently used in this connexion.

7. **si provenisset,** 'if it had been forthcoming.'

10. **Liburnicarum:** light fast-sailing vessels built on the model of the Illyrian pirate ships, and employed in the Roman fleets since the battle of Actium: cp. Horace, *Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium, Amice, propugnacula.* They were long and narrow, carrying a triangular sail.

ibi, adverb used as epithet, = *quae ibi erant.* Cp. v. 14, *memoria prosperarum illic rerum.*

12. **ignara:** Halm reads *ignava.*

14. **inconditos,** 'undisciplined.'

21. **qui P. frequentabant,** his customary visitors, or clients: as distinguished from *comites*, his attendants or staff.

22. **balineis,** 'at the hour of his bath,' like *comitiis* or *gladiatoribus;* but Dräger would render it 'in his bath.'

25. **maioribus flagitiis permixtos,** sc. they were forgotten among greater criminals.

XVII.

2. **ut supra:** i. 70.

5. **faciles occupantibus,** 'an easy prey to the first comer,' *τοὐπιόντος ἁρπάσαι.*

6. **melioribus incuriosos:** Tacitus uses the dative after *incuriosus*, also *A.* xiv. 38; but generally the genitive.

7. **quantum inter Padum Alpesque:** Otho's communications with Illyricum were not altogether cut off, as we see by the fact of a detachment of the 13th legion making its way to Cremona (24).

11. **Ticinum,** Pavia.

13. **inritabat,** sc. challenged them to swim across. Cp. iv. 12, where Tacitus speaks of entire squadrons of the Batavian cavalry swimming the Rhine.

14. **contra Placentiam,** 'opposite Placentia.'

XVIII.

1. **certum erat** is used in two different senses with the infinitives depending on it: 'Spurinna knew that Caecina had not come, and he was resolved to,' etc.

7. **ruere**, 'broke out.'

9. **tribunisque** is followed in M. by *providentiam ducis laudari*, manifestly an interpolation from the next chapter. Some of the copies of M. have altered *laudari* to *laudantibus*.

XIX.

1. **non iam in conspectu**: Meiser inserts *non iam*, as the ms. reading *in conspectu* would be strange, considering the position of Placentia: and perhaps we ought to read *e conspectu*, with Heräus and Nipperdey (or *in prospectu*, cp. Caes. *B. G.* v. 10). In any case the troops will have crossed to the left bank of the Po, and thus be in the enemy's country.

3. **contundit animos**, 'discouraged them,' took the edge off their valour.

9. **robur ac sedem bello**, 'a strong central point for the war,' 'a strong fighting base.'

16. **virtutis haud paeniteret**, 'their courage was unimpeachable,' no one had reason to be dissatisfied with it. This sense of *paenitet* is found as early as Terence: cp. *Hautontimor.* act i. sc. 1, *operis quantum fiat paenitet.* [Plutarch does not mention this sally from Placentia at all: he simply speaks of the eagerness of Spurinna's men for fighting.]

XX.

2. **modesto**, 'well disciplined.'

4. **sagulo**, a mantle or plaid worn by Batavi, Galli, and Nervii: cp. v. 23, *sagulis versicoloribus*, used for sails by the

Batavians: and *Aen.* viii. 660, where the Gauls *virgatis lucent sagulis.*

bracas...indutus, a Graecism frequent in poetry. Cp. *Aen.* iv. 137, *chlamydem circumdata.* Cic., *ad Fam.* ix. 15, speaks of *bracatae et transalpinae nationes;* Suet. *Jul.* 80, *Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt.* Gallia Narbonensis was for some time called *Gallia bracata*, to distinguish it from G. Cisalpina, where this form of dress was unknown.

barbarum tegimen is supposed by Ritter to be a gloss (taken perhaps from *Aen.* xi. 777, *barbara tegmina crurum*) on the ground that, (1) the explanation is unnecessary; (2) the 'Greek' accus. is not elsewhere found in apposition with another word.

5. **uxorem autem**: M. *uxorem au.* Nipperdey (on *A.* xiii. 35) says that Tacitus never uses *autem* in the narrative, but only in reporting direct or indirect speech: Heräus reads *uxoremque* after Haase.

6. **insigni**: M. *insignis*, which is better.

7. **gravabantur**, with an accus., as *A.* v. 8, *spem et metum juxta gravatus.* Halm inserts *quod* before *quanquam.*

9. **acribus oculis introspicere**, 'regard with critical eyes.'

14. **iactata**, 'bandied to and fro.' Notice the use of the neut. plur. after *pax et concordia:* cp. iii. 70, *pacem et concordiam victis utilia...esse; A.* xi. 11, *comitatem et temperantiam nulli invisa.*

16. **ut initia**, etc., 'that public opinion would be guided by the issue of the first battles.' For the thought cp. *A.* xii. 31, *gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni.*

XXI.

2. **aperti**, sc. *non tecti pluteis aut cratibus vineisve.*

5. **conflagravit**, being apparently a wooden structure, like the amphitheatre which collapsed at Fidenae (*A.* iv. 62).

6. **missilem ignem**: the technical term would probably be *falaricas*, fire-bearing missiles mentioned by Livy xxi. 8 and Vegetius.

7. **dum paria regerunt.** M. *dum reportans gerunt:* Orelli followed Gronow's correction *retorta ingerunt.* Heräus reads *dum retro transgerunt*, sc. *retro trans amphitheatrum ingerunt.*

But I do not know what authority there is for this use of *transgero.* Here, as frequently in Tacitus, *dum* with present indicative introduces an action which brings about an occurrence not contemplated by the agent: so *dum regerunt* should be translated 'in throwing.'

12. **in levi habitum**: 'lightly accounted.' Cp. *A.* iii. 54, *in levi habendum.*

15. **absumpta**: *assumpta* M.

16. **pluteos**, plank boardings to keep off missiles: *crates*, 'fascines': *vineas*, sloping roofs supported on posts, under the shelter of which the besiegers approached the walls.

19. **operibus** is not in M.

20. **pudor...gloria**, sc. fear of shame and desire of glory. *Pudor* is frequently used in this sense, when it may be translated 'honour.' As to *gloria*, cp. *A.* i. 8, *jactantia gloriaque ad posteros* (sc. *gloriae cupidine*): and Cic. *de Off.* i. 44, *videre licet plerosque non tam natura liberales quam quadam gloria ductos.*

26. **uberioribus**, etc.: they found mutual taunts a readier incentive than praise.

XXII.

3. **legionum**: Caecina had only one entire legion: but he had also contingents from others. Cp. i. 70, *legionum agmen.*

6. **librato magis et certo ictu**, 'with darts better poised and a surer aim.'

8. **cantu truci**: Tacitus (*Germ.* 3), describing the German war songs, says, *nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur.*

nudis, 'lightly clad': γυμνός.

10. **aggerem**: cp. *A.* ii. 81, *peti aggerem jussit*: a mound on which to place towers or engines.

molitur portas, 'strives to burst the gates': cp. *A.* i. 39, *moliuntur fores.*

13. **exsangues**, 'bleeding to death.'

23. **ordines...duxerat**, 'served as a centurion': cp. i. 55, and Cic. *Phil.* i. 20, *quicumque ordinem duxit.*

XXIII.

Annius Gallus marches to relieve Spurinna by the road from Verona: but Tacitus does not tell us where he had been stationed.

4. **paucitati**: it seems doubtful whether we should read here the abl. or dat.: M. has *paucitate* corrected to *paucitati.*

5. **obsidium**, after the example of Sallust, the usual form in the *Hist.* and *Ann.* instead of *obsidio.*

9. **Bedriacum**, about 20 miles from Cremona, on the Verona road. The scholiast on Juv. ii. 99 says, *Othonis et Vitellii bellum scripsit Cornelius: scripsit et Pompeius Planta, qui ait Bebriacum* (sic) *vicum esse a Cremona vicesimo lapide:* and on ii. 186, *Bebriacos campos inter Hostiliam* [*Ostiglio*] *et Cremonam.* It seems impossible further to identify the locality. Burnouf says its position is uncertain: Mannert, that it lay a mile west of Bozzolo: and Heraus takes much the same view, thinking that it lay between Piadena and Calvatone, *i.e.*, on the south-west bank of the Oglio.

10. **duabus**, sc. the battles between Otho and Vitellius, and between Vitellius and Vespasian: for the second cp. iii. 15-25. This last is commonly called the battle of Cremona: it took place between Cremona and Bedriacum: as, indeed, did the first battle, which was fought at least 16 miles from the latter place.

11. **notus infaustusque**, 'a place of evil name.'

14. **adversam**, sc. the left bank.

20. **prave aestimantibus**, 'putting a bad construction upon.'

21. **animo ignavus, procax ore**: notice the chiasmus.

22. **aliosque quos**, Meiser's correction: *eos quoque* is the reading of M. *Quoque* affords no intelligible sense: whence Urlichs suggests *copiis*, as *quoque* might have arisen from *co, piis* being lost or carelessly written. Others omit the parenthesis altogether.

23. **incessebant**: M. has *incesserant.* Orelli says that the pluperfect expresses rapid action: others connect it with *praeposuit* at the end of the chapter: 'Otho gave the command to his brother because the generals had been accused.' Altogether it seems better to read *incessebant* with the Buda ms.

29. **Titianum.** According to Plut. *O.* 7, Titianus did not receive the command till after the next battle: in any case he did not actually undertake it till then.

XXIV.

1. **interea,** sc. before Titianus could supersede Paulinus and Celsus.

3. **senescens ... fama,** 'his army's gradual loss of prestige.'

4. **nuper** : cp. 23.

7. **Valente** : with the army of Lower Germany.

10. **Castorum,** sc. *Castoris et Pollucis,* whose temple we may suppose stood there. Pliny calls the temple of the Twin Brethren at Rome *aedes Castorum.*

14. **curam peditum.** Tacitus, like Sallust, uses *cura* and *curare* sometimes in the sense of military command : cp. *A.* xiii. 20, *mandata ei praetoriarum cohortium cura ; A.* i. 31, *inferiorem* (*exercitum*) *Caecina curabat.* Xenophon uses ἐπιμελεῖσθαι in the same way.

Gallus is not mentioned here, having been disabled by a fall from his horse (33).

15. **tertiae dec. legionis vexillum** : part of the contingent mentioned in 11.

18. **aggerem viae,** 'the crown of the causeway,' sc. the road itself as distinguished from the footpaths or *limites* on either side. The *via* is the Postumia, leading from Cremona to a point where its branches diverged to Hostilia on the one hand and Verona on the other.

altis ordinibus, 'in column,' 'in deep formation.'

19. **dextra fronte,** sc. on the right of the attacking column.

22. **cumulus prosperis,** 'to complete the victory.'

In the formation here described the auxiliaries as usual are posted on the flanks ; next to them on either side of the road are the legionaries ; and on the road itself the praetorian cohorts. The line thus formed is at first straight : but immediately before the attack Paulinus forms his troops *en échelon ;* that is, the auxiliaries at the extremities of the line occupy a position slightly in advance of the legionaries, and these again are nearer the enemy than the *praetoriani* in the centre. [See the Note at the end of the book.]

XXV.

2. **prudens** has here its original sense of *praescius.*

3. **exsurgentes**, sc. *ex insidiis.*

4. **ultro**, sc. they were the victims of the plot which they had prepared for others.

8. **et cui**, etc., sc. he preferred a completed scheme of caution to an accidental success.

10. **fossas**, trenches for irrigation, such as are still in use.

aperiri, 'to be cleared.'

13. **vineas nexu traducum impeditas**: the vines being planted among trees (still the practice in this part of Italy), and twining about among the trunks and branches.

15. **rex**, 'prince': he was the son of Antiochus of Commagene. Βασιλεὺς also sometimes means a king's son. Cp. v. 9, *rex Pacorus.*

XXVI.

8. **praefectus castrorum**: *v.* on i. 82; and *A.* i. 20.

9. **fratri...proditionem ageret** appears to be equivalent to *cum fratre de proditione ageret.*

11. **sub eodem crimine**: cp. *A.* ii. 33, *sub nominibus honestis.*

12. **fugientes occursantes**: for the asyndeton of two opposites cp. 42, *comminus eminus*, 70, *falsa vera.*

19. **adverso rumore fuit**, 'found no favour.'

XXVII.

7. **reverentius**, etc., 'they yielded a more respectful and temperate obedience.'

10. **repetam**: Tacitus resumes the story broken off at i. 66.

11. **bello Neronis**, against Vindex. Possibly the Batavian cohorts may have left the fourteenth legion in Dalmatia on hearing of Vindex' revolt: thus openly declaring against Nero and 'depriving him of Italy' by hindering the legion from marching to his assistance.'

14. **rettulimus**, i. 59, 64.

20. **e petulantia**, etc., 'suspected that their turbulence meant treachery.'

XXVIII.

1. **pulsam** : cp. 14.

11. **sin victoriae**, etc. The reading of M. is *victoriae sanitas sustentaculum columen.* Heraus supposes *sustentaculum* to be a gloss upon *columen*, and before the latter word would insert *partiumque;* while Nipperdey would omit *sanitas sustentaculum* altogether. *Victoriae columen* means 'the completion of their victory': cp. *A.* vi. 37, *columen partium Abdagaeses.*

XXIX.

5. **pretia** : *et pretia* M.

7. **lanceis** : cp. i. 79.

10. **addit consilium, vetitis**, 'devised the scheme of forbidding.'

obire vigilias, 'to visit the sentries,' go the rounds in the camp.

17. **versi** : cp. 63, *versi in paenitentiam.*

18. **aquilis** *legionis quintae* (*Alaudae*) *et primae Italicae.* Cp. i. 61, 64.

XXX.

3. **tanquam** : *v.* i. 8.

8. **expositos** = *objectos:* in this sense a post-Augustan word. Cp. iii. 5, *ne inermes provinciae barbaris nationibus exponerentur.*

tanto pauciores : Caecina's army numbered 30,000 men, Valens' more than 40,000.

9. **in suam excusationem** is co-ordinate with *attollentis*, as if it were *se excusantes.*

15. **vigore aetatis** : cp. i. 53. *Quodam inani favore* means that the reasons for his popularity were indefinable.

17. **foedum ac maculosum** : cp. the same phrase i. 7. Here the epithets would stigmatize Valens' avarice and debauchery, of which we have instances i. 66 and iii. 41.

18. **inridebant** : Cicero and Caesar would say *inridebat :* in pre-Augustan authors, when the same action under different circumstances is predicated of two subjects, the verb commonly agrees with the nearest subject. For Tacitus' practice cp. 31, *egregiam Otho famam, Vitellius flagitiosissimam meruere.*

19. **eandem util. fovere**, sc. they worked for the same ends.

XXXI.

5. **addiderat huic terrorem**, etc., 'made him an object of terror and hatred.'

7. **inhonestus**, the reading of Ruperti and Ritter : the word in M. is *inhostus* : some mss. have *ipsi hostis.*

9. **coniunctis**, at Cremona.

11. **fortunam experiri** : cp. 47, *experti invicem sumus, ego et fortuna.*

13. **rei callidior**, on account of his successes in Britain. For the genitive cp. *A.* iv. 33, *callidus temporum.*

14. **de toto genere belli censere**, 'to pronounce an opinion on the entire plan of the campaign.'

XXXII.

3. **tumeant** : cp. Plin. *pan.* 28, *tumentibus plebis animis.*

6. **Hispanias**, where there were two legions, VI. Victrix, and X. Gemina.

9. **nullo maris subsidio** : the fleets being on Otho's side.

13. **tracto...bello** = *si bellum traheretur.*

20. **obscura nomina,** 'meaningless names': cp. Tacitus' own opinion i. 55, *senatus populique Romani oblitterata iam nomina.*

23. **obiacere fl. Padum**: that is, if they recrossed it: for Otho's army was now on the north or left bank. But Suetonius' plan of defence doubtless presupposed retirement behind the line of the river.

28. **cum Moesicis copiis,** sc. three legions, III. Gallica, VII. Claudia, VIII. Augusta. These legions had arrived at Aquileia by the day of the battle near Bedriacum. M. has *Moesaicis copiis*: probably *cum* (written *cū*) originally existed before *copiis*, as Tacitus often places it between adjective and substantive.

XXXIII.

6. **Proculus,** an intimate friend of Otho's according to i. 46.

7. **numen,** the 'genius' of Otho: Grk. δαίμων.

8. **neu quis,** etc. *Neu* is=*et ne*, the *et* connecting two principal clauses: whereas with Republican authors *neu* or *neve* only serves to connect final clauses. It is in Ovid that we find the first instance of this later practice: cp. *Met.* i. 72—

"neve foret terris securior arduus aether
affectasse ferunt regnum caeleste gigantas."

10. **concesserant in,** 'had resorted to.' The pluperf. is used of an action antecedent to the most important event of the chapter, Otho's departure for Brixellum. Titianus and Proculus guarded themselves against possible opposition by resting their opinion on Otho's merits as a general.

15. **Brixellum,** Bresello in the Modenese, on the right bank of the Po.

16. **summae,** 'the supreme command.' For this sense cp. iv. 25, *Flaccus ei summam rerum permisit*; and i. 87, *summa expeditionis.* M. has *summam* (*summã*), probably a mistake.

21. **et Otho, cui uni**: M. has *et ut Otho cui uni,* whence some read *et Otho ut cui uni.*

22. **in incerto reliquerat,** 'had left the limits of their repective powers undefined.' Orelli seems to prefer the sense 'weakened their authority.'

XXXIV.

2. **ut in civili bello**: cp. i. 4, *ut erga principem novum.*

8. **ne...otium tereret,** instead of *ne otio tempus tereret.* Notice how one reason is expressed by the pres. partic., another by *ne* with subjunct.: cp. *A.* ii. 62, *inliciens Germanos, utque...insisteretur.*

11. **super** is rendered by Heraus 'on,' sc. 'supported by' anchors. But it is better to take it as equivalent to *insuper* (besides). Louandre translates *on avait de plus jeté des ancres.*

13. **inoffensus,** sc. that the line of ships might rise without being checked by the taut cable.

17. **iaculabantur**: Plut. (*O.* 10) says that the Othonians set fire to the bridge and drove back their enemies with loss.

XXXV.

1. **insula,** probably opposite to the village of Spinadesco, west of Cremona.

The Othonians engaged were a body of gladiators stationed south of the Po: cp. 23.

2. **molientes** (with which we must supply some word from *perlabebantur*), 'making their way laboriously.' The word generally denotes strong effort of some kind: cp. Cic. *in Verr.* v. 88, *cum etiam tum ceterae naves uno in loco moliebantur;* sc. were doing their best to start: Terence, *Hautontimor.*, *Dum moliuntur, dum conantur, annus est* (of women going out for a walk). For exertion in a different connexion cp. Virg. *Georg.* iv. 331, *validam in vites molire bipennem.*

6. **nutantes,** standing unsteadily. Tacitus uses *volnera dirigere* on the model of Virgil's line (*Aen.* x. 140), *Te quoque magnanimae viderunt, Ismare, gentes volnera dirigere.*

9. **ultro,** sc. not content with a successful defence, they assumed the offensive.

10. **comminus,** 'with their own hands.' Virgil uses the word in the same kind of way, *Georg.* i. 104, *jacto qui semine comminus arva insequitur.*

XXXVI.

7. **Fl. Sabinum**, to be distinguished of course from Vespasian's brother of the same name, who was *praefectus urbi* at Rome.

8. **consulem designatum** : cp. i. 77.

rectorem copiis : cp. i. 22, *Othoni comes.*

9. **laeto milite**, etc. M. has *laeto milite et ad*, whence Heräus inserts *modestiore* after *et.* Cp. *A.* ii. 2, *accepere barbari laetantes, ut ferme ad nova imperia.*

XXXVII.

1. **apud quosdam auctores** : possibly the same authorities as those used by Plutarch : at any rate both historians (cp. Plut. *O.* 9) give substantially the same account of the scheme mooted by the armies and the events narrated in 39 and 40. Plut. mentions one of his authorities, when speaking of Otho's blind decision to fight (which he compares to a headlong leap from a cliff) : *καὶ τοῦτο μὲν διηγεῖτο Σεκοῦνδος ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γενομένος τοῦ Ὄθωνος.* [See note at the end of the book.]

3. **dubitasse...num**, 'to have intended to': whereas real doubt is commonly expressed by *an.*

4. **in medium** : cp. 5.

7. **spe Paulini** : subject. genitive. His first consulship seems to have been in 42; his second in 66 (*A.* xvi. 14).

9. **Brit. expeditionibus** : cp. *A.* xiv. 29-39.

10. **concesserim** : cp. i. 83, *crediderim.*

17. **dissonos** : cp. Livy i. 18, *gentes dissonas sermone moribusque.*

20. **pollutum obstrictumque meritis**, 'disgraced as well as obliged by the services they had rendered him.' Some edd. have *moribus* for *meritis.* For the thought, cp. Cic. *ad Fam.* iv. 9 (speaking of Caesar), *multa victori eorum arbitrio, per quos vicit, etiam invito facienda sunt.*

XXXVIII.

3. **rebus modicis** : *res* here means 'power,' as in i. 29, *res sine discordia translatas.*

4. **facile habebatur**, 'was easily preserved.'

5. **urbibus regibusve**: as Demosthenes says (*Ol.* ii. 21), *καὶ τῶν πολέων καὶ τῶν τυράννων.*

excisis is the reading of M. But it seems probable that we ought to read *excissis: excindere* being a favourite word with Virgil and later prose authors. Cp. *Aen.* ix. 137, *excindere gentem*, and Livy xliv. 27, *urbes excindere.*

This reflection on the change of Roman feeling is a reminiscence of Sallust *Hist.* i. fr. 12 (ed. Krüger), *postquam remoto metu Punico simultates exercere vacuum fuit, plurimae turbae, seditiones et ad postremum bella civilia orta sunt, dum pauci potentes, quorum in gratiam plerique concesserant, sub honesto patrum aut plebis nomine dominationes affectabant.*

7. **tribuni**, such as the Gracchi and Saturminus, who in Tacitus' judgment would be only *turbulenti.*

13. **et numquam**: earlier authors would say *nec unquam:* Tacitus however frequently uses *et* with a negative, *e.g.*, 32, *et nullo*, 26, *et nullum.* On the other hand, as we have seen, he uses *neu* where Cicero and Caesar would say *et ne:* cp. 33.

14. **quaesitum** = *certatum:* cp. *A.* ii. 74, *inter Marsum et Sentium diu quaesitum.*

21. **ad rerum ordinem venio**, 'resume my narrative.' Halm reads *revertar*, Heräus *redeo* (*A.* xii. 40, *ad temporum ordinem redeo*).

XXXIX.

1. **honor imperii**, 'the nominal command' as opposed to *vis ac potestas*, the real power: cp. *vis ac potestas*, iii. 2.

4. **alienae culpae praetendebantur**, 'served to screen the faults of others.'

5. **ambigui**: sc. they were an uncertain quantity: it could not be said that they had or that they had not authority.

7. **interpretari**: sc. they preferred to 'reason why,' instead of yielding an unquestioning obedience.

8. **ad quartum a Bedriaco**, in the direction of Cremona.

13. **ut...adesset poscentibus.** *Poscere* is used with *ut* by Juvenal: not by Tacitus except here and iv. 5.

15. **trans Padum agentes**, sc. the troops who had accompanied Otho to Brixellum, and the gladiators under Sabinus. For *agentes* cp. i. 74, *quae Lugduni agebant.*

XL.

2. **ad bellandum**, sc. to a campaign, and therefore in full marching order. It is not necessary to read *debellandum* with Grotius.

confluentes, etc. With extraordinary rashness, Otho's generals seem to have contemplated a march under the very eyes of the enemy, exposed to flank attacks. *sedecim mil. spatio* is clearly a mistake: for the army, which was now sixteen miles directly East of Cremona, could not have been at the same time sixteen miles distant from a point six or seven miles directly West of that town.

6. **omissuro**: Orelli read *admissuro.*

7. **vix quattuor milia**: the confluence of the Po and Adda is about seven miles from Cremona; but would not be so far from the camp of the Vitellians, which probably encircled the town.

10. **ubi ... vincerentur**: for the subjunctive cp. i. 10, *vacaret.*

11. **Numida**: African horsemen were often employed as outriders and messengers: cp. Sen. *Ep.* 123, *omnes sic peregrinantur ut illos Numidarum praecurrat equitatus.*

atrocibus, 'peremptory' or 'threatening': cp. i. 53, *atrocibus edictis.*

XLI.

1. **pontis** may refer to the bridge of boats below the junction of the Padus and Adua: cp. 34.

6. **insidias an proditionem vel**, etc. *Insidiae* would be the intention of an enemy, whereas a friend might either mean *proditio* or *honestum consilium:* thus the more real

opposition between the first word and *proditio vel...consilium* is expressed by *an.* Cp. *A.* xiv. 3, *consultans veneno an ferro vel qua alia vi.*

8. **castra**, apparently encircling the walls of Cremona: cp. iii. 26. There is nothing in Tacitus' account of the battle to show that it was fought at any distance from this camp: we are not justified in assuming (with Heräus) that it took place four miles from Cremona in the direction of Bedriacum. According to Tacitus it was close to the Vitellian camp, which according to Plutarch (*O.* 11) was 150 *stadia* or nineteen miles from Bedriacum: of more than this we cannot be certain.

17. **arbustis**, here 'vineyards' or groves of trees with vines interspersed: cp. 25.

22. **vocantium**: M. *vo clamantium:* hence *volantium, vocitantium,* and *volitantium* are suggested.

23. **in primam**, etc., sc. *in primam prorumpebant, in posteram relabebantur.*

XLII.

5. **dispersus**, sc. *sit:* cp. *quae causa salutandi.* Cp. i. 21, note.

8. **plerisque** may be either ablat. or dative: *metum facere* is followed by a dative, 66.

10. **integris ordinibus** is opposed to *dispersi*, while *fessi* and *pauciores* form the antithesis to *robore* and *numero.*

15. **catervis et cuneis**, ablat. of manner: 'in detachment and column.' We should rather expect *per catervas.*

viae, *Postumiae.*

conlato gradu=hand to hand: Livy expresses the same thing by *conlato pede* (vi. 12). Cp. Virgil's *haeret pede pes densusque viro vir.*

18. **inter se**, 'each other': cp. Cic. *ad Att.* vi. 1, *Cicerones pueri amant inter se.*

XLIII.

4. **Rapaci**, called by Plutarch (*O.* 12) Ἅρπαξ. The epithet implies irresistible dash: the legion sweeps away all obstacles like a torrent.

5. **prima Adjutrix**, otherwise *prima classicorum.* It is mentioned in i. 6 as *ea quam e classe Nero conscripserat.*

non ante, except at Castorum (24), where *dextra fronte prima legio incessit.*

7. **principiis** = *primis ordinibus.* Cp. Sall. *Jug.* 54, *Marium post principia habere.* Apparently the standards were carried in the front ranks of the legion. Cp. Plut. *O.* 12, τὸν ἀετὸν ἀφείλοντο, πάντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς προμάχους ἀποκτείναντες.

quo dolore = *cuius rei dolore;* cp. *quo pudore*, iii. 17.

10. **alia**, sc. on the right wing of Otho's army.

12. **quartadecimani**, sc. the detachment (*vexillum*) of the 14th legion: cp. 66, *Bedriacensi acie vexillariis tantum pulsis vires legionis non adfuisse.*

15. **gladiatorum**, under Sabinus (36).

17. **latus**, sc. the left flank.

XLIV.

3. **inmensum id spatium**: Otho's camp was 16 Roman miles from Cremona: so that, assuming the battle to have been fought 2 or 3 miles from that town, the *spatium* would be 13 or 14 miles.

4. **strage corporum**: according to Dion Cassius, lxiv. 10, the total loss on both sides amounted to 40,000—probably an exaggeration.

5. **in praedam vertuntur**, sc. there is no profit to be made out of them: χρῆσθαι οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ἁλισκομένοις (Plut. *O.* 14).

9. **multo adhuc die**, 'still in the full light of day': cp. v. 22, *multa luce.*

11. **manibus**, 'rough usage': cp. *A.* xvi. 26, *manus ictusque per immanitatem ausuri.*

12. **nullo proprio crimine eius**, 'not because they had any special charge to bring against him.'

16. **A. Gallus**, who had been rendered *hors de combat* by an accident (33), and therefore remained in camp.

20. **praetor. miles** : although according to Plutarch (*O.* 12) they had refused to face the enemy.

23. **legionis**, the 21st.

24. **militum quod trans Padum fuerit** : cp. 55, *quod erat in urbe militum.* These troops were with Otho at Brixellum (33).

25. **Moesicas legiones** : cp. 32, *ad fin.* They were now at Aquileia.

26. **si ita ferret**, 'were it necessary' : cp. *A.* iii. 15, *se...si ita ferret, comitem exitii promittebat.*

27. **perituros** : the subject is not *hos* specially : it would be represented by the French *on* and German *man* : we should translate 'death on the field would be more honourable.'

28. **desperatione** expresses the state of mind of those who are at once *truces* and *pavidi* ; it is therefore unnecessary to read *haud pavidi*, or to alter the punctuation so as to connect *pavidi* alone with *extrema desperatione.*

XLV.

1. **ad quintum** : thus one mile from the enemy's camp. There is no reason to suppose that the Othonians had retreated to the village of Bedriacum : Plutarch's statement that Gallus addressed the soldiers ἐν τῇ πόλει is probably an inaccuracy.

4. **sed expeditis** : *sed* answers what is implied in the foregoing words, *i.e.*, that Vitellius' soldiers had to wait where they were, unprovided with the requisites for a camp, till the next day.

9. **dubitatum, quo minus** : after *dubitare* in this sense we should expect the infinitive.

11. **impetrassent** : often used by Cicero and Caesar without an object, as here.

14. **misera laetitia**, 'joy mingled with sorrow.'

isdem tentoriis, *v.* i. 55 (note on *suggestu*).

16. **in ambiguo**, a Graecism : cp. *in incerto*, i. 37 and elsewhere.

XLVI.

2. **consilii certus**, 'firm in his resolve': the construction would seem to be a genitive of respect, like *destinationis certum*, *A.* xii. 32. *Exitii certus* (*A.* i. 27) and *certus eundi* in Virgil are similar phrases.

maesta, a word generally applicable only to persons, not things.

7. **ire in aciem...flagrabant**: an instance of the very free use of the infinitive common in Tacitus and other writers of the silver age: cp. such constructions as '*nec deerat...adorare volgus*,' '*scribitur tetrarchis...iussis obsequi*,' '*incubuerat...delatorem fratris pervertere*,' etc. *Flagro* is found with the infinitive in poetry.

8. **partium fortunam**: cp. the same expression 54.

furore quodam et instinctu, 'with wild enthusiasm.' The expression is best explained as a kind of hendiadys: it may be equivalent to *furore instincti* (cp. Cic. *in Verr.* ii. 5. 72, *quodam furore instinctus*): perhaps we should rather say, with Orelli, that each word is the complement of the other: the two form one idea.

According to Plutarch one of the soldiers actually killed himself to testify his devotion to Otho.

13. **maiore animo tolerari**: the ablat. corresponds to a predicate: the meaning is 'it is a mark of greater fortitude to bear than to bow before calamity.' Cp. Mart. xi. 56, *fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest.*

15. **insistere spei**, 'to cling to their hopes.'

16. **ut flexerat vultum aut induruerat**, 'as his looks expressed compliance or refusal': cp. iv. 54, *non vultu aut sermone flecti*; and *Aen.* iv. *num lumina flexit?*

20. **Aquileiam**, Aglar or Aquileia, near Venice.

21. **dubitet potuisse renovari bellum**: the infin. after a negative expression of doubt is only found once in Cicero, but frequently in Livy and Tacitus.

The rhetorical writers of the early empire generally prefer the charm of striking contrasts and pathetic situations to sober historical truths: and Mommsen holds that Tacitus has in accordance with this tendency altered the picture of Otho's catastrophe, by the omission of certain essential details, without altogether abandoning the positive tradition. This assumption is based on Plutarch's narrative. The Greek

historian—who is, according to Mommsen, guided in the main by the authority which Tacitus himself follows, the memoirs of Cluvius Rufus—asserts (*O.* 13) that the officers of the beaten army held a council of war at Bedriacum under the presidency of Marius Celsus. Celsus declares that the die is cast, that fortune has decided against them, and a continuance of useless bloodshed cannot be permitted: and to this the rest agree—among them Otho's own brother the commander-in-chief Titianus. Thereupon Celsus and Gallus personally conclude the capitulation with Caecina: an attempt of Titianus at the last moment to violate the contract is quickly abandoned, and Caecina is admitted to the Othonian camp. Thus far Plutarch. This capitulation then was decisive: for even had the conflict been protracted for a while, Otho could not expect it to terminate favourably for himself, now that he was abandoned by his main army and could only rely on the Illyrian legions and the troops forming his guard at Brixellum. His sole choice lay between death by his own hand and the sword of the executioner. But Tacitus has preferred to represent him as a voluntary martyr to his own unselfish wish to save his people. "We should admire the tragedian," remarks Mommsen (*Hermes*, vol. iv.), "whose skilful colouring and grouping of facts should enable him so to raise and ennoble his hero, without at the same time contradicting tradition. But what would be a merit in the poet is a fault in the historian."

XLVII.

6. **experti in vicem**, etc. Otho means: I have experienced the humours and caprice of fortune; and fortune has tried me (and not found me wanting) in prosperity and adversity alike.

7. **nec tempus conputaveritis**: the argument is: Do not think less of my use of power because it has been short-lived: it is a short reign that is the surest test of capacity to rule with moderation. Cp. Stat. *Theb.* ii. 446, *non parcit populis regnum breve* (a saying too well illustrated by the history of Roman provincial governorships).

11. **hinc**, sc. from this act of self-sacrifice.

22. **nemine**, an unusual form: also in *A.* xvi. 27.

XLVIII.

3. **irent** depends on *appellatos:* he addressed them and bade them go.

16. **poscente proelium exercitu**: this is only really true of the troops at Brixellum.

17. **remisisse rei publicae**, etc., 'had spared the State the last calamities.' Cp. *A.* i. 10 for the *dativus commodi* after *remittere : privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere.*

19. **Servios**, referring to Servius Sulpicius Galba.

20. **familiam novam**: not strictly true according to the technical sense of *novus :* but his family was *nova* in relation to the imperial power.

22. **nimium meminisset**: a crime for which Cocceianus was put to death by Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 10).

XLIX.

1. **post quae**, for *postea*, as occasionally elsewhere. Cp. *inter quae* for *interea*, i. 78.

9. **gelidae** implies a greater degree of coldness than *frigidae.*

10. **duobus**, though omitted in M., is rendered probable by *utrumque*, and by Plutarch's words (*O.* 17), *δυοῖν ὄντων αὐτῷ ξιφῶν.*

14. **pectore**: *infra laevam papillam* (Suet. *O.* 11).

17. **ambitiosis precibus**, 'earnest entreaty': *ambitiosus* often means 'zealous' or 'importunate,' generally in demanding something for oneself: cp. Cic. *ad Fam.* xiii. 1, *homo minime ambitiosus, minime in rogando molestus; ad Fam.* iii. 7, *ambitiosius facere soleo quam dignitas mea postulat.*

amputaretur: Otho feared reprisals for the treatment of Galba's body.

21. **non noxa neque ob metum** is best explained as a kind of hendiadys: 'not because they feared punishment from Vitellius for their offence' (in serving Otho). Some suppose *noxa* to mean 'offence against Otho': 'they did not kill themselves out of remorse for any offence.'

24. **sepulchrum**: cp. Suet. *Vit.* 10, *lapidem memoriae Othonis inscriptum intuens dignum eo Mausoleo ait.* Plut. (*O.* 18) says he saw the inscription—Δηλώσει (sc. prob. δαίμοσι = *dis manibus*) Μάρκου Ὄθωνος.

25. **vitae finem**, April 16, A.D. 69: after a reign of 92 days.

L.

2. **Ferentino**, in Etruria: M. has *Ferentio.*

3. **maternum genus**: cp. Sall. *Jug.* 11, *materno genere impar.* Suet. (*O.* 1) calls Otho's mother Albia Terentia a *splendida femina*, that is, the daughter of an *eques* who had not held any public office.

5. **egregio**: because he willingly faced death in order to save his country from a continuation of civil war. 'Nothing in his life became him like the leaving it.' Martial (vi. 32) calls him the equal of Cato: *Sit Cato, dum vivit, sane vel Caesare major; Dum moritur, numquid major Othone fuit?*

11. **celebri luco**, simply 'frequented,' not necessarily for religious purposes. The strangeness of the phenomenon consisted in the fact that the bird was undisturbed by the numerous passers-by.

Regium Lepidum (Reggio) was on the via Aemilia between Parma and Mutina, south of Brixellum.

12. **nec deinde**: cp. 85, *nec deinde civili bello interfuit.* Halm reads *neque inde.*

15. **reputantibus**, dative: equivalent to *quotiens quis reputaverit.* As we should say, 'a comparison of time showed that,' etc. Cp. *Germ.* 6, *in universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris; H.* iii. 8, *magni momenti locum obtinuit reputantibus illic Caecinam genitum.* This construction is not found in Cicero or Sallust, though occasionally in Caesar: it appears to be an imitation of the Greek ethic dative.

16. **competisse**, 'coincided': cp. Plin. *N. H.* xvi. 39, *si competant coitus lunae in novissimum diem brumae.*

LI.

3. **modo...nunc**, instead of the usual *modo...modo:* cp. the same combination iii. 85.

5. **per aversam domus partem**, sc. through the *postica* of the house.

7. **cohortium**, sc. the praetorians.

R. Gallus, according to Dion Cassius, lxiii. 27, had been employed by Nero against Galba, but went over to the enemy with the force which he commanded. Later he is mentioned as conducting negotiations between Caecina and Vespasian's brother Sabinus.

9. **F. Sabinus** had superseded Macer in command of the gladiators posted on the right bank of the Po: cp. 36. Tacitus says nothing of Spurinna, the brave defender of Placentia.

LII.

2. **profecta**: as we learn from i. 88, *multi e magistratibus, magna consularium pars*, were compelled to accompany Otho.

3. **Mutinae** (Modena) on the via Aemilia.

6. **trahere in deterius**, 'put the worst interpretation on.' Writers of the Tacitean period frequently use neuter comparatives as substantives: *in melius, in antiquius*, etc. This is a practice unknown to Cicero: Livy and Sallust say *in majus* occasionally.

10. **excepisse**, 'to have welcomed.'

12. **expedito consilio**: sc. no one had formed any plan for himself. Cp. iii. 73, *neque sua consilia expedire.* With *tutior* we must supply *unusquisque* from the foregoing *nemo*; cp. a similar omission i. 1, *neque amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus*, sc. *sine odio unusquisque dicendus.* For the thought cp. iv. 41, *societate culpae invidiam declinavit.*

13. **onerabat**, 'increased': cp. 87, *onerabant multitudinem.*

ordo Mutinensis, 'the town council.' The senate of a municipium or colonia, called *ordo decurionum* or simply *ordo*, was composed of a certain number of life members—generally 100: vacancies among these *decuriones* (later known as *curiales*) were supplied according to the provisions of the *Lex Julia* by elections held every five years.

An inscription mentions the *ordo splendidissimus coloniae Abellinatium.*

15. **intempestivo**: because as a senate they must formally recognize either Vitellius or Otho: both of which courses would at present be dangerous.

LIII.

2. **M. Eprium**, often mentioned by Tacitus as a brilliant speaker: *e.g.*, *A.* xvi. 22, *acri eloquentia.* He was the accuser of the Stoic Thrasea (*A.* xvi.), and rose to distinction by such *delationes.* In the *Dialogus* (8) he is spoken of as a power in the State, along with Vibius Crispus: *sine commendatione natalium, sine substantia facultatum, neuter moribus egregius, alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus, per multos iam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac donec libuit, principes fori, nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia agunt feruntque cuncta, atque ab ipso principe cum quadam reverentia diliguntur.* He was twice consul, and retained his influence at court till in 79 he conspired against Vespasian, and was forced on detection to commit suicide.

L. Caecina: not elsewhere mentioned.

5. **expositum ad**: cp. Livy xlii. 23, *expositus ad injurias.*

7. **magnis inimicitiis**: cp. *magna adulteria*, i. 2.

8. **Bononiam** (Bologna), south-east of Mutina, on the via Aemilia.

10. **sperabantur**: for the personal construction of *sperari*, cp. 45, *deditio sperabatur.*

11. **recentissimum quemque**, 'all newcomers.' Cp. Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 7, *homines eo venerunt Roma sane recentes.*

14. **abruptis**, sc. he had renounced all the pleasures of life.

LIV.

2. **se adulantibus offerebat**, 'showed himself ready to listen to flattery,' or, as we should say, 'laid himself out' to be flattered.

3. **atroci**, 'alarming.'

5. **iunctis a Brixello viribus**, sc. *iunctis viribus eorum qui Brixelli erant.*

7. **diplomata**, passports, letters of recommendation: properly, folded papers. These letters (issued by the emperor, and as we may suppose also by governors of provinces) entitled the bearer to receive all possible assistance and furtherance on his journey from the provincial authorities. In the present instance Coenus utilized Otho's diplomata to obtain relays of horses for his journey to Rome. Cp. Plin. *Ep.* 10. 14, *festinationem tabellarii...diplomate adiuvi.*

8. **rapide**: in the positive Tacitus otherwise uses *raptim*, which is here adopted by Halm.

12. **publici consilii facie**, sc. they had left Mutina as a senate, not as so many individuals.

LV.

1. **Ceriales ludi**: the Cerialia, a festival of unknown antiquity, had since 44 B.C. been celebrated by *aediles Ceriales.* They lasted apparently from April 12 to 19 (12-16 according to Orelli), and ended with *ludi* in the Circus. Cp. *A.* xv. 53, *circensium ludorum die qui Cereri celebratur:* and Ov. *Fast.* iv. 389, etc.

2. **cessisse** is the reading of M.: Halm reads *cecidisse.* If Orelli is right in asserting that the Cerialia ended April 16, the news can only have referred to Otho's defeat, not his death, which took place on that same day: and in that case *cessisse* would be appropriate.

4. **sacramento...adactum**: cp. i. 55.

8. **lacum Curti**, cp. i. 41.

9. **cuncta**, sc. the *imperium, tribunicia potestas*, and titles of Caesar and Augustus. It is true that Vitellius rejected the first title: i. 62.

12. **quae gaudio fungeretur**, 'to express their joy.' The *gaudium* is a kind of duty of which the performance is undertaken by the deputation: hence *fungeretur.*

14. **non scripsisset**: it was not customary for anyone except the emperor to address an official letter to the con-

suls or senate. Cp. iv. 4, *miserat et Mucianus epistolas ad senatum, quae materiam sermonibus praebuere. Si privatus esset, cur publice loqueretur?*

LVI.

4. **in omne fas nefasque avidi**: cp. iii. 51, *tantam adversus fas nefasque inreverentiam fuisse.* The sense is, they could be bribed or impelled by their own covetousness to any deed, caring not whether or not it was contrary to divine law. *Fas nefasque* really forms a single and conventional expression, on the component parts of which we need not lay too much stress: cp. οἵ τ' ὄντες οἵ τ' ἀπόντες in Sophocles' *Antigone*.

5. **venales**, *i.e.*, they hired themselves as bravoes.

9. **obnoxiis**: the officers were too much beholden to their men to resist them. Cp. i. 1.

11. **plus ambitionis**: his object in indulging the soldiers was popularity.

13. **tantum**, etc., is the ms. reading and produces good sense. Lipsius proposed to omit *tantum*, making *peditum equitumque* depend on *vis*: another correction is *tanta peditum equitumque vis.* Neither alteration seems necessary.

LVII.

1. **ut ad integrum bellum**, sc. as though the war were not yet decided either way.

2. **reliquas...vires**: according to i. 61, there were only two legions, with their eagles, under Valens and Caecina, the 5th and 21st: of the other five (I., IV., XV., XVI., XXII.), only detachments.

4. **festinatis**, transitively used, as *festinabantur*, 82.

5. **legionum nomina**, 'the vacancies in the legions,' which were now only 'skeleton' battalions.

6. **ripae**, the left bank of the Rhine.

7. **e Britannico exercitu delecta**: Orelli read *e Britannico delectu.* These 8000 are the *vexillarii trium Brit. legionum* of

ch. 100, and we learn from iii. 22 that the three legions were the 2nd, 9th, and 20th. Observe again that *vexillarii* can denote any soldiers serving away from their legion: sometimes as reserve force of veterans who had served their time: here, the élite of the legion. The reading of M. is *delecta*, and *e Brit. exercitu delecta* is certainly easier than Orelli's reading: for I do not know what authority there is for *delectus* in the sense of 'élite,' the meaning which he gives to it.

12. **Asiaticum**: a slave raised by his vices, and notorious even in the annals of the court: he perished eventually with his master.

15. **anulis**: cp. i. 13.

mancipium, a contemptuous name for a freedman: so *servorum* is used for *libertorum*, i. 7.

LVIII.

1. **utramque Mauretaniam**: *v.* i. 11.

2. **procuratore**: *v.* i. 2.

6. **agebat** = had no inconsiderable force to support him: cp. iii. 42, *haud procul inde agebat.*

8. **apta bello manus**, in apposition to *Maurorum numerus* only: they were the predecessors of the modern Kabyles and Bedouins.

10. **Cluvio Rufo**, *legatus Augusti pro praetore in Hispania Tarraconensis*, the Hither province: in which capacity he was responsible for the external security of the senatorial province of Baetica, where there were no troops.

11. **decimam**, called *Gemina*: this legion along with the *sexta Victrix* formed the garrison of Spain.

12. **ut transmissurus**, not 'intending to cross,' but 'as if he intended': it was only a feint. Cp. 80, *solito adsistentes ordine ut legatum salutaturi, imperatorem salutavere.*

17. **Iubae**, the name of several Numidian princes: one of whom had been placed by Augustus on the throne of Mauritania.

LIX.

5. **adpulsu litoris**: the genit. is objective, as in *vulgi*

largitione, i. 46. Livy (xxvii. 30) has *litorum adpulsu*: the expression is perhaps modelled on Thucydides' ἐν ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς (i. 108).

8. **transibat**: M. has *transibant*, evidently a mistake: but Walther accepts it, reading '*transibant. Impar curis gravioribus exercitum*,' etc. Cp. A. xiv. 54, *levissimis quoque curis impar*.

10. **Arare**, the Saône (its later name was Sauconna).

paratu, instead of the older form *apparatus*; cp. i. 23.

11. **egestate**: Suet. (*Vit.* 7) has a story about this *egestas*: apparently the future emperor, when leaving Rome for his province, had to pawn his mother's earrings in order to pay the expenses of his journey.

13. **rector**: he was *legatus Augusti pro praetore*.

14. **par opibus**, sc. his wealth matched his generosity.

ministeria: cp. i. 68, *ministeria principatus*.

16. **vernilibus**, coarse, fit only for slaves.

praesto fuere, 'presented themselves': the perfect expresses a single action, as in *unde plures erant, omnes fuere* above.

19. **circumposuit**, 'placed on either side of': cp. 89, *circa*.

22. **fortunae principalis**, 'his position as heir-apparent': *v.* i. 62.

23. **inter secunda rebus adversis**: for a similar variation cp. 23, *rebus prosperis incertus et inter adversa melior*.

This son of Vitellius was put to death by order of Mucianus in the next year (iv. 80). Tacitus says here that the honours heaped on him were a kind of compensation for his future fate. For *cedere in* in this sense cp. *Germ.* 36, *fortuna in sapientiam cessit*.

LX.

6. **squalidos** is equivalent to *reos*; Vitellius delayed his decision. It was customary for accused persons, while the verdict was pending, to wear mourning (*toga sordida*) and generally to neglect their outward appearance: cp. Cic. *pro Sest.* 144, *sordidatum et reum*. *Squalor* and *sordes* are the common expressions used to denote this silent appeal *ad misericordiam*.

8. **ultro inputabant**: instead of defending themselves on the ground of having only done their duty to their former master, they actually tried to get credit for treachery.

spatium...itineris: cp. 40.

10. **permixtum vehiculis agmen**: cp. 41, *mixta vehicula et lixae.*

12. **fidem absolvit**, 'forgave their fidelity' to Otho.

14. **consulatus**: he was consul with Arrius Antoninus for July and August: he had been nominated by Galba for the last 4 months of the year: *v.* i. 77.

17. **restitit** probably means 'contradicted the accusation.' Orelli thinks it means 'Vitellius refused Caecilius' offer'; but Tacitus does not assume the truth of the accusation against Caecilius.

19. **Trachalum**: cp. i. 90.

LXI.

1. **pudendum dictu**, prefixed to the sentence to which it stands in apposition, like *mirum dictu*, 41. The sentiment accords with Tacitus' usual aristocratic contempt for low birth.

2. **Boiorum**, who had invaded Gaul with the Helvetii, and after being defeated by Caesar had settled between the Loire and Allier.

3. **inserere sese fortunae**, 'to thrust himself into prominence.'

4. **simulatione numinum**, 'pretending a divine mission' or inspiration.

5. **id**, sc. *id nomen.* Halm reads *nomen id sibi indiderat*, and Andresen inserts *nomen.* Tacitus often uses *indo* with *nomen*; cp. i. 51, *hoc enim nomen fastidito Vindice indiderant.*

7. **trahebat**, 'was plundering' (Heraus): cp. A. iii. 74, *ne Cirtensium pagi impune traherentur*; and Sallust uses *trahere* in this sense. Orelli thinks the meaning is 'attracted to his side': as 86, *Pannonici exercitus Dalmaticum militem traxere.*

gravissima civitas, Augustodunum (Autun).

10. **feris obiectus** : according to Paulus this was one of the punishments of agitators, who according to their rank (*pro qualitate dignitatis*) were either *in furcam sublati* or *bestiis obiecti* or *in insulam deportati.*

LXII.

1. **defectores,** Otho's followers, from the Vitellian point of view : or perhaps they are regarded as rebels from Galba.

3. **lex intestatis,** sc. if they made no will their property went to their legal heirs.

4. **avaritiam non timeres** = *av. non erat timenda :* cp. *palam laudares*, i. 10. *Temperaret* seems to be attracted into the imperfect by *timeres :* we should expect the pluperfect.

8. **conviviorum,** respecting which the *locus classicus* appears to be Suet. *Vit.* 13, whence we learn *inter alia* that Vitellius used to dine out several times a day, no dinner ever costing less than 400,000 sesterces.

12. **Caesaris non reciperet** : as i. 62. But apparently he changed his mind afterwards : iii. 58, *quin et Caesarem se dici voluit, aspernatus antea.*

14. **mathematici** : *v.* i. 22. Suet. (*Vit.* 14) says that he ordered the astrologers to leave Italy before October 1.

15. **ludo et arena,** hendiadys : 'games in the arena.'

id...perpulerant : for the construction cp. iv. 42, *hoc certe Nero non coegit.* Even Cicero (*de Rep.* i. 2) says *ille civis qui id cogit.*

Writers of the early empire furnish us with abundant evidence that it was not unusual for persons of good family to appear on the stage and in the circus : and the present passage by itself would show that this tendency among the upper classes had an independent existence, even if imperial compulsion may have been at first responsible for it. When Julius Caesar compelled Laberius to act in one of his own *mimi* it was considered a deep disgrace ; but public opinion changed, and in Juvenal's day it was a common thing for nobles to appear as low comedians.

"Populi frons durior huius
qui sedet et spectat triscurria patriciorum,
planipedes audit Fabios, ridere potest qui
Mamercorum alapas" (Juv. viii. 189).

The attitude of the emperors towards this custom seems to have been one of alternate sanction and prohibition. Tiberius sternly forbade such performances: Caligula encouraged them. Claudius actually succeeded in checking them. Nero not only compelled others to appear on the stage and in the arena, but was himself an enthusiastic amateur. While the aristocracy frequently performed as chariot drivers, etc., in the circus, it does not appear that it was common for them to risk their lives as gladiators: though instances of this are known. Juvenal says they were ready to sell their lives without any Nero to compel them (*vendunt nullo cogente Nerone*, viii. 193); but elsewhere (xi. 20) he speaks of the gladiators' school as the ruined spendthrift's last resort: *sic veniunt ad miscellanea ludi.*

17. **aemulabantur.. inlicere**: *aemulor* is not elsewhere found with the infinitive: *v.* 46, note.

LXIII.

4. **rettulimus**; i. 88.

6. **Pl. Varus** was subsequently proconsul of the senatorial province of Bithynia, under Vespasian.

7. **praefectum urbis**. Augustus first instituted city prefects, to represent him in his absence, but this *praefectura* was not a standing office till A.D. 26. The duty of the consular who held it was originally to preserve order in Rome itself and the vicinity to the distance of 100 miles: gradually the entire criminal jurisdiction within this limit fell into the hands of the *praefectus urbi*.

9. **cohortem quae Ostiae ageret**, *septimam decimam civium Romanorum* (cp. i. 80).

10. **nec ullis...probationibus** = *et quamquam nullas probationes adferebat:* cp. i. 71. The sense seems to be: he produced no evidence to support his charges, and then changed his mind, and in remorse entreated pardon for the friend whom he had accused. *Veniam* (*amici*): *scelus* (*suum*).

14. **L. Vitellii**, the emperor's brother.

15. **terruit, ne**, if it is like Horace's *terruit gentes grave ne rediret saeculum*, means 'made him fear, lest.'

16. **ubi formido incessisset**, 'under the influence of fear.' *Incessere* is a favourite word with Tacitus for describing the approach or development of some moral agency: cp. *A.* i. 55, *spes incesserat;* iii. 71, *incessit religio; H.* iii. 27, *incesserat cunctatio.*

18. **inpulit ruentem**, 'hastened him on the road to ruin.' Cp. Cic. *pro Cluent.* 70, *praecipitantem impellamus.*

LXIV.

1. **Petroniam**: Vitellius first wife, daughter of Petronius Turpilianus, who had held various high offices under Tiberius.

3. **Flaminiae viae**: *v.* i. 86. From Narnia on this highway a less frequented road led to Interamnium (more commonly called Interamna, the modern Terni) in Umbria.

8. **modestum e proximo**, etc., 'was brought into stronger relief by an example of moderation in her own family.'

9. **non inmixta tristibus**, 'who took no part in his dark deeds.' Galeria Fundana, Vitellius' second wife, was daughter of an ex-praetor.

10. **Sextilia**, called by Suetonius *probatissima nec ignobilis femina* (*Vit.* 3). Cp. iii. 67, *paucis ante diebus opportuna morte excidium domus praevenit, nihil principatu adsecuta nisi luctum et bonam famam.*

14. **evicta**, a favourite expression with Tacitus. Cp. *A.* i. 57, *evicta in lacrimas;* ii. 37, *evicta ad miserationem:* and *Aen.* iv. 474, *evicta dolore.* Hence there is no reason to read *evecta.*

LXV.

4. **Hilarius**: Heräus says he was probably procurator Augusti in Hispania Tarraconensis, and thus chief finance officer in the province. Inscriptions show that it was not uncommon for freedmen to hold such posts. Notice that Hilarius is *Caesaris libertus*, an imperial freedman (*v.* i. 46), not one whom Vitellius himself had emancipated.

6. **potentiam**: *v.* i. 1.

7. **temptasset**: Cluvius was supposed to have put out a kind of feeler by omitting the imperial name on the diplomata: if the omission was not objected to he would (it was alleged) insert his own name. Of course the reason of the omission was perfectly obvious: Cluvius did not know who was emperor: when the day of Bedriacum had decided that question he joined the winning side like every one else. We may suppose that the news of the battle had reached him before he took action against Albinus (58).

10. **pro se ipso popularia**, 'courting favour for himself.' For *interpretari* (without *ut*) in the sense of 'to interpret as,' cp. i. 77, *honori datum interpretabantur.*

12. **ultro**: cp. i. 7.

14. **Arrunti**: cp. *A.* vi. 27, *oblitus Arruntium ne in Hispaniam pergeret decimum iam annum attineri.*

15. **ob metum**: Suetonius (*Tib.* 63) says that Tiberius similarly detained several provincial governors.

18. **Bolanus** governed Britain till 71, when he was superseded by Petilius Cerialis. According to *Agric.* 16, he was a good man and a popular governor, but had no authority.

LXVI.

9. **veterem...discordiam**: cp. i. 64, ii. 27.

10. **Augustae Taurinorum**, Turin: its old name—before Augustus founded a military colony there—was Taurasia.

17. **Grais Alpibus.** The route led past Eporedia (Ivrea) to Augusta Praetoria (Aosta): thence ascending the upper valley of the Duria (Doire or Dora Baltea) it crossed the Little St. Bernard—the pass by which Hannibal entered Italy, according to the most probable theory. Thence the road follows the stream La Récluse down into the upper valley of the Isère, and passing Bourg S. Maurice, Tarantasia (Moustiers) and Conflans, leads to Montmeilan, the western gate of this passage of the Alps. Here the road divides: one route traverses the valley of Grésivaudan to Grenoble and Vienne, while the other bends in a north-west direction past Chambéry as far as the lake of Bourget, whence it turns westwards, traversing the Mont du Chat near the village of Chevelu, and eventually reaching Lyon. The legion was

ordered to take this latter road, so as to avoid Vienne, instead of the ordinary Grenoble route: the *flexus itineris* is the divergence towards the north-west from Montmeilan.

19. **Viennenses timebantur**: for the reason see i. 65 *seqq.*

25. **ferebant**: the imperfect expresses the attempt or intention.

LXVII.

3. **honestae missionis**: according to Dion Cassius, lv. 23, each veteran of the praetorian guard received with his discharge a gratuity of 20,000 sesterces.

4. **arma**: and of course their standards as well. Hence Antonius Primus says to the praetorians who had taken service under Vespasian *illic* (sc. *inter Vitellianos*) *signa armaque vestra sunt,* iii. 24.

8. **suis hibernis**: the headquarters of the 11th legion were in Dalmatia (iii. 50), those of the *septima Galbiana* in Pannonia (ii. 86).

11. **ad curas**: *intentus* is generally followed by the dative or *in* with accusative. For the present construction cp. iv. 2.

LXVIII.

1. **et has quidem partes**: *et quidem partes* is the reading of M., but is objectionable: for Tacitus uses *et...quidem* to mark antithesis (*e.g.*, 36, *et proelium quidem...fuga diremptum: Macer ad exitium poscebatur*): and there is no opposition between *partes* and *victores*, for *partes* standing alone as it does must refer to Vitellius' party. Besides, Tacitus has just been describing Vitellius' treatment of the Othonians. Haase suggests *et victas quidem partes.*

2. **ludicro initio**, sc. it originated in a pastime. Cp. iii. 83, *ludicrum certamen; Aen.* xii. 764, *neque enim levia aut ludicra petuntur praemia.*

ni is not in M. The construction is curious, but the sense plain: the disturbance originated in pastime, but the end

was serious enough—the number of slain increasing men's horror of the whole war. *Belli traxisset* is Meiser's correction : M. has *bello auxisset*, whence Halm reads *Vitellio auxisset.*

4. **Ticini**, whither he had gone from Turin.

6. **tempestivis conviviis** : *tempestivum* is a standing epithet for a luxurious banquet, the Roman idea of luxury being to begin dinner early : any dinner which began before the 9th hour—about 2.30—was *tempestivum.* Cp. Juv. i. 49, *exul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis iratis.* Cicero frequently uses the expression : cp. *pro Murena* 13, *tempestivi convivii... comes est extrema saltatio.*

7. **intentus**, 'alert,' 'smart': synonymous partly with *severus*, partly with *diligens.* Its opposites are *remissus* and *dissolutus.*

8. **indisposita, temulenta** : according to Suet. *Vit.* 10, it was the emperor's habit *rapinas ac petulantiam omnium in iocum vertere*, and he maintained no discipline either among his troops or his own attendants.

14. **in studia diductis**, 'taking sides.'

19. **agminis coactores**, the rearguard : whose duty it would be to hurry up stragglers.

23. **quanquam...pavidus** : cp. iii. 2, *quanquam rebus adversis.* Cicero does not use *quanquam*, but *quamvis* with adjectives.

25. **quondam ducis**, against Vindex.

28. **fastiditi** : Verginius had more than once refused to accept the purple from the soldiers : as he says in the epitaph which he composed for himself :

"Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam
imperium adseruit non sibi sed patriae."

LXIX.

3. **pietatem** : in the same way Otho commends the *pietas* of his mutinous soldiers : i. 83.

7. **interno simul externoque bello**, the revolt of Civilis. This might well be called a war at once civil and foreign, because in the first place the Batavians had themselves served in the Roman army, and they were even joined by

some of the legions: secondly, their allies were partly Gauls (Treveri and Lingones), partly Germans, dwelling east of the Rhine. Hence Tacitus speaks of *mixta belli civilis externique facies* (iv. 32), at the siege of Vetera.

10. **inter inania belli,** 'as an empty display of force': cp. *A*. ii. 76, *inania famae; Agric*. 6, *inania honoris.*

12. **numeros,** 'strength.'

15. **crebrius redibant,** 'came round more frequently.'

18. **melius stetit,** 'stood on a firmer basis': with *virtute quam pecunia* we should supply *stans potius,* and translate 'in whose days the power of Rome stood on a firmer basis, resting as it did on valour rather than wealth.' Cp. *A*. vi. 30, *magis fama quam vi stare res suas.*

LXX.

1. **inde,** from Ticinum. **flexit,** because Vitellius did not continue his march along the via Aemilia, but turned aside to Cremona on the via Postumia.

munere *gladiatorio:* cp. 67. Shows of this kind appear to be called *munera,* because they were the successors of the ancient propitiatory gifts or offerings of human victims to the manes of departed friends: civilization abolished human sacrifice, but the name survived: and up to the end of the republican period it was frequently appropriate as applied to gladiatorial displays, these being generally associated with the name of some deceased relative of the exhibitor. *V. Dict. of Antiq.* 'gladiatores.'

5. **intra quadragensimum pugnae diem:** cp. Suet. *Galb.* 17, *intra sextum adoptionis diem,* 'within six days from the adoption.' Expressions like this and *sextum post cladis annum, A*. i. 62 (=*sexto post cladem anno*), are scarcely known before the post-Augustan period.

8. **inhumana,** 'disgusting,' offensive to natural feeling.

9. **rosa,** used collectively, as often: cp. Hor. *Od.* i. 5, *quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa,* etc.

10. **regium in morem:** even at this period *rex* and *regius* express something foreign and distasteful to Roman ideas. The people treat Vitellius like an Oriental despot.

11. **perniciem ipsis fecere**: the sack and destruction of Cremona (iii. 32 *seqq.*) was a terrible punishment for its welcome to Vitellius.

17. **spatia certaminum**, sc. the ground where they had fought.

19. **varia sors**, etc. *Subiret* is used with *sors* and *misericordia* (to which *lacrimae* is a kind of adjunct) in two different senses: 'they thought of the chances of life and were moved to tears of pity.' Cp. Ovid *Trist.* i. 3, *cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago;* and *H.* i. 37, *horror animum subit.*

22. **laetus ultro**: according to Suetonius, Vitellius said *optime olere occisum hostem, et melius civem.*

LXXI.

2. **cultu**, the apparatus or properties.

5. **ingenio**, 'style,' *i.e.*, the characteristic figures.

6. **cantantem**: we read of Nero's performances as a singer in public, *A.* xiv. 14, 15, xvi. 4. Cp. Juv. viii. 224—

> "haec opera atque hae sunt generosi principis artes,
> gaudentis foedo peregrina ad pulpita cantu
> prostitui Graiaeque apium meruisse coronae."

8. **luxu**, a form of the dative common in Tacitus. Cp. *A.* i. 10, iii. 30, etc. Vitellius was the bondslave of his appetite, *ut qui in mancipium traditus est.*

10. **coartati aliorum consulatus**: *v.* note on i. 77. Macer, Marinus, and Costa must have been nominated by Otho or Galba for consulships in the next year, 70.

11. **dissimulatus**, 'ignored.'

16. **ausus**, used absolutely: as 25, *rursus ausi.*

17. **actae...gratiae**, by the disappointed candidates: they thanked Vitellius for having condescended to shelve their claims, apparently.

LXXII.

1. **acribus initiis**, sc. although it made a great noise at first.

3. **Scribon. Cam.** : according to Dion Cassius, lxiii. 18., a Sulpicius Camerinus was put to death by Helius, one of Nero's freedmen.

5. **Crassorum** : one of the Crassi bears the name Scribonianus, iv. 39. The mother of Piso Licinianus (Galba's adopted successor) and of this Crassus Scribonianus was a Scribonia : if Camerinus' mother was a Scribonia also, as is probable from his surname, then he must have been a connexion of the Crassi.

6. **in argumentum fabulae**, lit. 'for the action of the play,' *i.e.*, to help him to play his part: *pour soutenir son rôle* (Louandre).

8. **errore veri**, 'mistake as to the real facts': the genit. is objective, as in *superstitio nominis*, iii. 58 (superstitious reverence for the name).

13. **in servilem modum** : slaves were tortured and crucified at Rome on the so-called *sessorium* in the Campus Esquilinus, to the east of the city: the *locus servilibus poenis sepositus* of *A*. xv. 60.

LXXIII.

3. **speculatores** : *v.* i. 24.

6. **ad nomen eius excitabatur**, 'could be roused by the mention of his name': cp. *A*. xiv. 57, *erectas Gallias ad nomen.* **tum**, on receipt of the news.

8. **externos**, sc. external, not to Italy, but to the whole empire : the corresponding expression would be 'the vices of an imperfect civilization.'

proruperant : the pluperfect seems to express immediate action: cp. 25, *subito discursu terga cinxerat eques.* Virgil uses the perfect in the same way (of course in a present signification) : cp. *Georg.* iv. 212,

> " Rege incolumi mens omnibus una est :
> Amisso rupere fidem."

(I do not think that *aboleverat* in *H.* ii. 5 is an instance of this use : though according to Heräus it means *statim abolevit.*)

LXXIV.

4. **fausta omnia**: that the reading of M. *omia* represents *omnia* and not *omina* is abundantly proved, 1. by the frequent recurrence of phrases like *laeta omnia, bona omnia,* etc. : cp. 80, *laeta omnia et affluentia excepit ;* 2. by the fact that it is not an omen but its fulfilment that is prayed for.

6. **in Titum pronior** : cp. 5.

7. **praefectus Aegypti** : cp. i. 11.

8. **tertiam**, Gallicam.

9. **suam numerabat** apparently means 'counted it his own (and available) because it had gone to Moesia.' Cp. Suet. *Vesp.* 6, *legio tertia quae exitu Neronis translata in Moesiam fuerat.* Mucian was not disappointed: the legion was the first to join him of those stationed in Moesia.

10. **secuturae sperabantur** : *v.* on i. 50.

18. **esse...progressum,** 'there is the possibility of gradual advance,' and, it is implied, of retreat: but we are not justified in inserting *esse regressum* with Halm and Heräus. The sense is: in the plans of ordinary life men can feel their way and be guided by circumstances as to their aims: but the aspirant to empire must either at once scale the height or fathom the abyss.

LXXV.

3. **inexpertas**: cp. i. 8, *bellis inexpertus :* on the other hand iv. 76, *expertum belli.*

7. **praesenti facinore,** 'the act of a moment,' one which could be immediately performed. **ex diverso** = *ex hoste.*

8. **Scribonianum** : cp. i. 89. It is not known to what rank Volaginius was promoted.

LXXVI.

3. **secretos sermones** is explained by Heräus as 'confidential negotiations' conducted through the medium of a third party: cp. 5, *consuluere primum per amicos. Coram* then means

that Mucianus addressed Vespasian personally, face to face. The word has this sense very often: cp. iv. 65, *coram adire adloquique;* Ter. *Adelphi* 2. 4, *vereor coram in os te laudare amplius;* Cic. *ad Att.*, *cum coram sumus et garrimus quicquid in buccam.* Orelli thinks that *coram* means 'in presence of witnesses': and on the whole this is the best rendering, as we can then give *secreti sermones* its natural sense of 'private confabulations'; and it is moreover probable, from the opening words of 78, that Mucianus spoke in the presence of witnesses. M. has *coronam*, whence some read *et ad coronam.*

5. **an quod inchoatur**, etc. M. has *inchoaturi*, which Halm adopts, reading *an, quod inchoaturi, rei publicae utile, ipsis gloriosum, an promptum effectu aut certe non arduum sit.* According to this reading, there are two questions: 1. Is the enterprise likely to be useful and honourable? 2. Is it easy? Orelli's reading assumes the useful and honourable nature of the undertaking, and only asks if it be easy: and on the whole this best suits the context; for in the remainder of the chapter what Mucianus is mainly concerned to prove is the ease of Vespasian's task.

7. **arduum** is more than *difficile:* it means rather 'so difficult as to be impracticable.' A task may be *non promptum effectu* and yet not be *arduum.*

ipse, etc. Two points must be considered: 1. The nature of the advice: 2. The character of the adviser. To emphasize this second question and to place the counsellor directly before us as the subject of investigation, Tacitus uses the personal construction rather than the impersonal *considerandum est an ipse*, etc. It is like the Greek idiom *οἶδα αὐτὸν ὅστις ἐστιν.* Of course we must supply *considerandum* before *cui... adquiratur.*

11. **quam salutare** is an ellipse standing for *quod quam salutare sit.* Orelli's reading *tam salutare* (with a full stop at *magnificum*) leaves *juxta...positum est* with hardly anything to refer to. M. has *tanquam salutare.*

12. **nec** instead of *neu* with the perf. subjunct.: cp. 47, *nec tempus computaveritis.* Mucianus says, 'You will see that I do not mean to flatter you, if you think what a very poor compliment it is to choose you as a successor to a Vitellius.'

14. **propius fuerit**: cp. 77, *absurdum fuerit. Fuerit* means in these cases 'is perhaps.'

18. **Galbae imaginibus**, sc. his noble birth.

22. **abiit et transvectum est**: Tacitus uses two words to express the single thought emphatically, according to the frequent practice of Latin authors. We should say 'it is gone beyond recall,' or something of that sort.

23. **quo posses videri concupisse** seems to mean 'when you could (with impunity) be thought to have been an aspirant.' The sense is: Vitellius will not forget that you have aimed at the throne: you can only save yourself by obtaining it. Orelli, with Walther and Louandre, would supply 'only' with *videri*, translating: 'the time is past when you could be suspected (and only suspected) of ambition: your aims are clear to every one.' But then the whole weight of the thought has to be borne by an unexpressed word, *tantum* or *dumtaxat*. Another suggestion is to read *non cupisse*.

25. **Corbulo**, one of Nero's generals, executed by his order (D. C. lxiii. 17).

splendidior origine, and thus a more natural victim: cp. Juv. iv. 96, *sed olim prodigii par est in nobilitate senectus*.

30. **ne Othonem quidem**, etc. The sentence is elliptical: the full expression would be '*Othonem—et ne illum quidem... vicit—jam desiderabilem fecit.*'

33. **cum interim spargit cohortes**: for *cum interim*, v. i. 60. The date of Mucianus' speech was the end of June at latest: had he already knowledge of Vitellius' doings in Italy after his victory?

37. **novem legiones**: four in Syria, three in Judaea, two in Egypt.

39. **belli domitor externi**, sc. *Judaici*.

40. **classium**: cp. 83, *classem e Ponto Byzantium adigi jussit*, v. 4.

alarum cohortium, sc. auxiliary forces.

41. **tua ante omnes experientia** is explained by Heräus as meaning 'that experience in which you surpass all others': but when *ante omnes* or *alios* is used, the person who surpasses others is generally subj. or obj. of the sentence. It seems simpler to translate here, 'your experience, which is more valuable than all' the *reges*, etc.

LXXVII.

6. **triumphale nomen**: Vespasian had received *triumphalia ornamenta* in the reign of Claudius (43 A.D.) for his successes in Britain at the head of the second legion.

9. **clarus**: Suetonius (*Tit.* 4) says that Titus *tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannia meruit, summa industriae nec minore modestiae fama.*'

cedere imperio ei: cp. Cic. *pro Mil.* 75, *nisi sibi hortorum possessione cessissent.*

11. **non idem**, etc., 'our relations will be different in prosperity and adversity.' For this use of the genitive cp. 76, *belli domitor* = conqueror in war.

12. **vincimus**: we should expect *vincemus.*

14. **partiemur**: the reading of M. is *patiemur*, which suits the context better than *partiemur*: for when Mucianus in the next sentence proposes a partition of duties, it is not a continuation, but a correction of what he has just suggested.

tu tuos: *tuos*, M. The following *mihi* seems to require an answering *tu.* Heräus reads *tu ex tuto exercitus rege.* Nipperdey, *tu tutus.* There is another ms. reading, *tu hos.*

Mucianus has now satisfactorily answered the question proposed by himself as to the feasibility of the enterprise and the character of its proposer. A short peroration follows, closing with the words, 'after all, war is our only possible course.'

17. **hos** must of course refer to *victi*, contrary to the general usage.

18. **contumaciam**: M. has *contumacia*, followed by Halm.

19. **contecta et tumescentia...volnera**, 'hidden and festering sores': the Greek word would be ὕπουλος. Cp. Dem. *Phil.* 1. 44, εὑρήσει τὰ σαθρὰ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος.

21. **parsimonia**, which in later life became avarice.

22. **inscitia**: v. i. 1.

24. **deliberant**: cp. Plut. *Galb.* 4, τὸ γὰρ ζητεῖν, Νέρωνι εἰ πιστοὶ μενοῦμεν, ἤδη μὴ μενόντων ἐστίν.

LXXVIII.

8. **omina**: Suetonius enumerates a number of these (*Vesp.* 5).

10. **latior** is not an appropriate word as applied to a cypress: hence *laetior* has been suggested. Suetonius, *l. c.*, says *viridior et firmior resurrexit.*

11. **haruspicum**, who were regularly employed in the

country towns as at Rome: an inscription speaks of the *haruspex coloniae*.

12. **consulatus**: he was consul for the last two months of 51.

14. **inplesse fidem**, 'to have fulfilled the promise.'

16. **Iudaeam inter Suriamque**: dissyllabic prepositions are sometimes placed between two substantives which they govern, as here: cp. iii. 19, *cumulos super et recentia caede vestigia*.

Carmelus, the south-west continuation of Antilibanus, on the Phœnician frontier. *Inspectis...extis* proves that it was not a Jewish, but probably a Canaanite sanctuary: as indeed one might infer from its situation.

18. **aram et reverentiam**, the religious awe of the worshippers standing to them in the stead of a temple or image.

25. **aperiebat**, 'was now discovering the solution of the mystery.'

LXXIX.

2. **Antiochiam** (Antakia) on the Orontes, the residence of the *legatus pro praetore* of Syria: **Caesaream** (Caesarieh), the seat of the Roman procuratorial administration of Judaea. Its earlier name was Turris Stratonis: Herod the Great called it Caesarea. Tacitus calls it here *Judaeae caput*, because he is speaking of it in connexion with a Roman governor: from the Jewish point of view, *Hierosolyma genti caput*, v. 8. The reading of M. is *hoc Judeae*, not *haec*, which Orelli adopts: ordinary Latin usage attracts the pronoun into the gender of the predicate—an attraction neglected in the case of *illa* because of its distance in the sentence from *caput*.

initium...coeptum: cp. i. 39.

5. **T. Alexandro**: Josephus, on the other hand, says that Vespasian wrote to Alexander informing him of his accession.

quinto Nonas: July 3. Suetonius says *quinto Idus*, which is apparently a mere mistake: for cp. 81, *ante Idus Iul. Suria omnis in eodem sacramento fuit*.

11. **Suria remeans**: cp. *A*. i. 3, *remeantem Armenia*: iii. 11, *rediens Illyrico*.

LXXX.

5. **pauci milites** : apparently a guard of honour, whose duty it would be to salute Vespasian.

8. **mens**, sc. *militum.* 'Their fears were banished by confidence of success.'

10. **altitudinis** : M. has *multitudinis*, whence Orelli read *mutationis*. The sense is plain : 'as soon as he had mastered the dazzling surprise of his elevation,' as soon as his eyes were accustomed to the blaze of splendour. Cp. Liv. xxvi. 45, *cum altitudo caliginem oculis offudisset.*

12. **laeta omnia**, etc., 'homage came pouring in on all sides.'

id ipsum, the news of what the soldiers did at Caesarea.

14. **theatrum ubi illis consultare mos est** : Antioch was a Greek town. Cp. Cic. *pro Flacco* 7, *cum in theatro imperiti homines* (sc. *Graeci*)...*consederant, tum bella inutilia suscipiebant*, etc.

18. **arte quadam ostentator** : Livy has a similar expression about Scipio Africanus : xxvi. 19, *fuit Scipio non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab juventa in ostentationem earum compositus.*

23. **mutarentur** : *muto* is sometimes used in the sense of 'to take in exchange': cp. Hor. *Od.* ii. 16, *quid terras alio calentes sole mutamus:* so also *permuto:* Hor. *Od.* iii. 1, *cur valle permutem Sabina divitias operosiores ?*

25. **necessitud. et propinq.**, 'ties of intimacy and kinship.'

LXXXI.

3. **Sohaemus**, prince of Emesa in Syria, had in 54 received from Nero the kingdom of Sophene, between Cappadocia and Armenia (*A.* xiii. 7). There was another Sohaemus—possibly father of the man mentioned here—who was prince of the Ituraei in the north of Palestine : cp. *A.* xii. 23.

4. **Antiochus**, a Seleucid king of Commagene and a part of Cilicia : in 72 Vespasian dethroned him and made his kingdom a Roman province. (Observe that these *reges*—although Antiochus bears on his coins the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ —are not independent princes : they are 'protected,' like most petty potentates on the frontier of a great empire.)

6. **Agrippa**, Herod Agrippa, brother of Berenice and great-grandson of Herod the Great. After his father's death (in 44) Judaea was incorporated in the empire and administered by a procurator who was officially subordinate to the governor of Syria. Herod Agrippa received from Claudius in 48 the territories of his recently deceased uncle, Herod of Chalcis: while his cousin Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, was consoled by the gift of Lesser Armenia. This Agrippa, according to Hegesippus iv. 21, was sent to Rome with Titus to interview Galba: cp. *H.* ii. 1. Titus, as we know, turned back on the news of Galba's murder: but Agrippa continued his journey.

18. **nondum additis C. legionibus**: Cappadocia had been a Roman province since A.D. 17, but was governed by a procurator who had no troops: Vespasian placed it under the control of an armed *legatus*, to check the continual inroads of barbarians: cp. Suet. *Vesp.* 8.

19. **summa rerum**, 'the general situation.

Berytus, Beyrout: its official name was Julia Augusta Felix Berytus.

22. **lecta decora**, sc. the élite of the army, wearing their most splendid uniforms: *decora* is used for *decori homines*, as *consilia* for *consiliatores* (*A.* iv. 40).

24. **speciem fortunae principalis**, 'the appearance of an imperial court.'

LXXXII.

1. **revocare**: we find on an inscription the words *inter ceteros conveteranos revocatus.* Hence it is not necessary to alter the text to *evocare.*

9. **procurationibus**: *v.* on i. 2.

11. **summa**, such as consulships and praetorships.

fortuna pro virtutibus fuit, 'success was their only merit.'

12. **neque** is curiously co-ordinated with *ne...quidem*, which is made to mean 'nor even.' It would however be easy to suppose that *et* has dropped out after *ostenderat.*

15. **militarem largitionem**: *militum largitio* (cp. i. 46, *volgi largitio*) would be ambiguous: so Tacitus uses *militarem* as he uses *comparatio deterrima*, *A.* i. 10, for *comparatio deterrimi hominis.*

19. **claustra Aegypti**: the 'keys of Egypt' would be Alexandria and Pelusium.

21. **nihil arduum fatis**, 'the fact that nothing is too hard for the fates,' 'the omnipotence of fate.' Cp. *A.* iii. 9, *fuit inter inritamenta invidiae...celebritate loci nihil occultum.* We find the same expression of the abstract by the concrete in the sentence *occisus Caesar aliis pessimum aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur*, *A.* i. 8.

LXXXIII.

2. **agens**: cp. *A.* xvi. 28, *agere senatorem.*

6. **maiora credi de absentibus**: the thought is like *omne ignotum pro magnifico* or *maior e longinquo reverentia.*

7. **vexillariorum**: Orelli approves of an interpretation which makes these comprise the recalled veterans of 82. Heräus thinks with more probability that they are detachments of picked men taken from the 5 legions remaining in Syria and Judaea. In chapter 57 the three British legions send Vitellius a picked corps of 8,000 men, *i.e.*, about 2,600 per legion, which would be the number supplied in the present instance: $2,600 \times 5 = 13,000$.

8. **classem**: cp. iii. 47, *lectissimas Liburnicarum omnemque militem* (sc. *classicum*) *Mucianus Byzantium adegerat.*

14. **sibi** ought probably to be omitted: it may easily have arisen from *si Brundisium* by a kind of *διττογραφία.*

LXXXIV.

4. **belli civilis nervos**, a common metaphor: cp. Cic. *Phil.* 5. 5, *nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam.*

5. **verum**, 'fairness,' 'equity,' as often.

6. **locupletissimus quisque...correpti**: cp. i. 35.

10. **ad optinendas iniquitates**, 'to maintain unjust decisions': on the analogy of the phrase *ius suum obtinere* cp. Plin. *Paneg.* 41, *nunquam principibus defuerunt qui fronte gravi et tristi supercilio utilitatibus fisci contumaciter adessent: et erant principes ipsi sua sponte avidi et rapaces, et qui magistris non egerent.*

haud perinde, 'not particularly': there is an ellipse of something like *atque alii* or *atque exspectari poterat.* Cp. iv. 62, *intra vallum deformitas haud perinde notabilis* (sc. *atque extra*).

13. **quod avidius**: Nipperdey and Heraus read *quo*, which is certainly easier to translate.

13. **rarissimus quisque**: cp. i. 81.

LXXXV.

5. **Claudiana**, a title borne by the 7th legion in memory of its fidelity to Claudius at the time of the revolt of Camillus Scribonianus, governor of Dalmatia.

7. **de Othone**, sc. news of his death.

8. **vexillis**: they were only detachments from the legions. Suetonius (*Vesp.* 6) says that these troops on the news of Otho's death elected Vespasian emperor *proprio motu*, independently of the Syrian army.

9. **pecunia**, the military chest.

15. **T. Julianum**: cp. i. 79.

16. **causam partium praetendebat**, 'alleged as a reason the interests of his party.'

19. **montem Haemum**, the Balkan range.

LXXXVI.

1. **tertia decima**, which after building the amphitheatres at Cremona and Bologna had been sent to Poetovio (Petau on the Drave, in Styria): iii. 1.

2. **septima Galbiana**: cp. i. 6.

5. **Primi Antonii**, a free lance, the better qualified to play a prominent part in civil war because he had been once outlawed by society. Martial (x. 23) speaks of him — apparently without irony — as solacing his declining years with the recollection of a well-spent life.

"Nulla recordanti lux est invisa, gravisque :
nulla subit cuius non meminisse velit."

For the position of the cognomen before the nomen cp. 91, Priscus Helvidius. This reversal of the order is common in Tacitus and not unknown even to Cicero.

6. **falsi damnatus**: in the year 61, under the *lex Cornelia de falsis*. He had witnessed the forging of a will: cp. *A.* xiv. 40.

10. **in nullo belli usu fuit,** 'remained unemployed so far as the war was concerned.'

12. **strenuus** in earlier prose almost always stands either in conjunction with *fortis*, or in opposition to some word like *ignavus* or *imbellis*.

13. **serendae...artifex,** 'a master of the art of calumny.'

seditionibus potens: cp. Virg. *Aen.* xi. 340, *seditione potens* (of Drances).

15. **iuncti,** sc. in design: they did not actually march till later: iii. 5.

17. **Tampius Flavianus**: probably, says Heräus, the same man who is mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* ix.) as proconsul of Africa. A cavalry corps bore the title *Tampiana.* This Flavianus was *natura ac senecta cunctatior* (iii. 4). In M. the name is Titus Amplius Fabianus.

19. **procurator Pannoniae**: cp. iii. 4.

20. **natalibus,** instead of *genere,* or *origine:* cp. i. 49, *claritas natalium.*

21. **inquies cupidine**: the ms. reading is *quietis cupidine,* but it does not seem probable that a man like Fuscus made *quies* his main object: and moreover one would imagine that the *procuratio* of a frontier province would be still less a bed of roses than the senate-house. Hence *quaestus* has been suggested, and affords a good sense: for senators were forbidden by law and etiquette alike to engage openly in commercial pursuits. Of course the restriction was often evaded, but the fact remains that it was harder for a senator to make money than for an ordinary individual: so that Fuscus might well have resigned his rank 'from desire of gain.'

22. **dux coloniae suae,** some Roman *colonia* which was his home.

29. **ad quartadecimanos,** cp. 66: *primanos,* cp. 67.

LXXXVII.

7. **procacissimis...ingeniis** stands for *et lixae, quorum in-*

genia procacissima sunt etiam inter servos. Inter servos means 'even where there are slaves to compare them with': cp. i. 1, *inter infensos vel obnoxios;* and v. 17, *dies gloriosissimus inter maiores* (sc. *si comparaveris cum rebus gestis maiorum*). *Lixae* were undoubtedly free men: *calones*, or soldier's servants, were slaves.

9. **summa modestia,** here = *acri disciplina.*

15. **amicitiarum dehonestamentis,** 'discreditable connexions.'

LXXXVIII.

8. **vernacula urbanitate,** 'a coarse practical joke,' such as would be perpetrated by *vernae.* Cp. 59, *verniles blanditiae.*

10. **accincti,** sc. *gladio.*

11. **non tulit ludibrium** : *i.e.*, they did not see the joke.

17. **in quo Galba iacuisset** : Vitellius' soldiers seem to have laboured under the delusion that their leader's object was to avenge Galba.

19. **horrentes** : we are reminded of *Aen.* v. 37, *horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae.*

per inscitiam, 'through awkwardness.' The rude denizens of the German forests could not pick their way through the crowded streets, or keep their footing on the slippery pavement.

23. **volitabant,** often used by Cicero in the sense of 'going to and fro,' with the added idea of an insolent and overbearing mien: cp. *pro Sestio* 9, *cum coniuratio palam armata volitaret:* less frequently by Tacitus with this special meaning.

23. **terrore et...catervis,** hendiadys.

LXXXIX.

2. **paludatus...sumpta praetexta** : Suetonius says (*Vit.* 12), *urbem introiit paludatus*, but this is contradicted at once by Tacitus' account, and a coin which represents Vitellius approaching the Capitol *togatus.* (It is true that on another

coin he is *paludatus.*) Suetonius may mean that Vitellius entered the porta Flaminia in the military dress: which he might well have done, as that gate was outside the sacred circle of the *pomerium.* The *pons Mulvius* crossed the Tiber about two miles from Rome.

6. **quattuor legionum**: prima Italica, V. Alauda, XXI. Rapax, XXII. Primigenia.

7. **circa**, 'on either side': cp. 59.

legionibus aliis: I. Germanica, IV. Macedonica, XV. Primigenia, XVI. Gallica: cp. iii. 22.

9. **ut...forent**: for the construction *v.* i. 10.

11. **primi centurionum**, sc. the ten *pili priores* of the front rank: *v. Dict. of Antiq.*, 'Exercitus.'

XC.

2. **alterius**: the genitive of *alius* is seldom used, being generally replaced by that of *alter.*

7. **vacuum curis**, 'thoughtless.'

10. **frustra**, sc. his tenure of the title was short-lived.

XCI.

1. **cuncta interpretantem**, 'suffering nothing to pass with out comment.'

5. **Cremerensi Alliensique**: the annihilation of the Fabii on the Cremera (B.C. 477), and the rout of the Romans on the Allia (B.C. 390) by the Gauls.

8. **comitia consulum**, etc.: that is, of the consuls mentioned in ch. 71: these comitia are not to be confused with the November elections, at which Vitellius made arrangements for future years. While the emperor had the right of *commendatio* in the case of candidates for praetorships, apparently he could in theory only 'nominate' consular candidates: this *nominatio*, though of course really tantamount to election, was formally only the representative of the ancient *suffragatio* or pledge of support given by the

candidate's friends. The *celebratio comitiorum* (*celebrans* appears to be much the same as *obiens*) was a revival of the practice of Augustus, who used to canvass for his friends. Suetonius (*Aug.* 56) says, *quotiens magistratuum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circumibat supplicabatque more sollemni:* in Vitellius' time of course the only electing body was the senate.

What follows (*omnem*, etc.) has no reference to Vitellius' canvassing: the historian passes to another detail.

11. **fautor**, sc. *partium circensium.*

15. **Helvidius** and Thrasea (whom Heräus calls the Cato of the empire), the only representatives of anything resembling an 'opposition' in the senate, were outspoken Stoics who made Brutus their model both as a philosopher and as a tyrannicide: they were both put to death for refusing to hide their convictions, Thrasea by Nero in 66, Helvidius his son-in-law by Vespasian in 73. Cp. *A.* xvi. 21 (*Nero*) *virtutem ipsam exscindere concupivit, interfecto Thrasea Paeto et Barea Sorano;* and Juv. v. 36—

> "quale coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant
> Brutorum et Cassi natalibus."

It was the old opposition between Cato and Caesar: Stoicism and Caesarism could not coexist.

17. **non ultra quam**, an elliptical phrase on the analogy of *nihil aliud quam* (οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλήν).

21. **in re publica**, 'on a matter of public policy.'

XCII.

2. **a praefectura cohortis**: he had only been praefect of an auxiliary cohort, not even a *tribunus legionis.*

9. **ambitu**, sc. *multitudine favorem ambientium.*

salutantium, the friends and clients who regularly visited their patron. 'Not only the man of quality, or who was beloved and respected, but also the undeserving, if a wealthy one, wished to see himself everywhere surrounded by an obsequious host of courtiers. Hence numbers of persons were to be found in Rome who used for a pecuniary consideration to form the court, as it were, not of one, but of several persons of wealth and consequence' (Becker, *Gallus*, p. 228).

13. **subitis offensis**, etc., 'easily moved to sudden anger or unseasonable flattery': cp. his *verniles blanditiae*, 59.

17. **patriae reddiderat**, after they had been banished by Nero: Otho had decreed the restoration of their property; but this was in most cases impossible (i. 90).

18. **gratum**: notice the rare use of the neuter adjective as an object substantive.

20. **iura libertorum**, 'their rights in relation to their freedmen,' otherwise called *iura patronatus*. These rights had lapsed owing to the banishment of the *patroni*, who now received them back again. *Iura libertorum*, as we gather from the Digests, made it binding on the *libertus* to provide sustenance, if necessary, for his *patronus*: '*alimenta autem pro modo facultatum erunt praebenda egentibus scilicet patronis*': '*de alimentis patroni arbiter solet dari arbitraturus quantum sit in facultatibus*,' etc.

The freedmen *corrumpebant*, *i.e.*, tried to invalidate the imperial rescript, perhaps by asserting that their means were inadequate for supporting their patrons.

22. **per occultos**, etc., appears to be a curious way of saying *apud obscuros homines, penes quos nemo quaereret, aut apud potentiores, in quorum fidem et clientelam ambitiose se contulerant. Sinus* is literally the fold of the *toga*: the end of which hung forward over one shoulder, and would, if thrown backward over the other, form a fold or pocket in front. Cp. *A.* iii. 13, *sinum suum cubiculumque offerebat*; where *sinus* is used in the same metaphorical sense of a hiding place.

23. **ipsis dominis potentiores**: cp. Plin. *N. H.* xii. 1, *Aesernini libertus, sed qui se potentiae causa Caesaris libertis adoptasset.* These men were like Juvenal's Greeks (iii. 72), *viscera magnarum domuum dominique futuri.*

XCIII

3. **non principia noscere**: they did not know where was their rendezvous or recognised place for assembling. The *principia*, or *via principalis*, the main street of the camp, ran from the *porta principalis dextra* to the *porta pr. sinistra*, and served as a general rendezvous where the soldiers would be summoned to assemble in case of necessity. Cp. iii. 13, *recurrens in principia miles*; and i. 48, where it means the headquarters.

7. **infamibus**, on account of the *cattiv' aria*, the pestilential atmosphere of the Tiber valley: the Vatican quarter has at all times been the unhealthiest part of Rome. It does not however appear that the climate of the city in general was considered permanently dangerous in ancient times (yet we hear of *intemperies caeli*, 94): although we read of occasional epidemics, as *e.g.* in *A.* xvi. 13.

10. **obnoxia morbis**, 'sensitive to disease.'

11. **insuper confusus**: Gerber would read *confusus insuper*, because *insuper* generally follows the word to which it especially refers.

12. **ambitu** seems to mean much the same as *ambitiosum imperium*: those in command sought popularity with the men.

ordo militiae, 'the rules of the service.' Cp. i. 38, *sine more et ordine militiae.*

15. **plus...audebat** seems to mean that Valens was the more active of the two, putting himself forward as the real commander-in-chief.

XCIV.

4. **urbanae militiae**, like *urbanus miles*, i. 4, includes all the soldiers permanently quartered in the city: the urban and praetorian cohorts.

8. **convolsum castrorum decus**, sc. distinctions in the service lost their value: *e.g.*, a place in the praetorian guard was no longer an honour, because no longer the reward of merit. Cp. *A.* vi. 48, *Tiberius...vi dominationis convolsus.*

11. **duces Galliarum**, native Gallic chiefs, apparently: the more usual word would be *principes.*

inerti: the ms. reading is *mortem*, which Heräus supposes to be a marginal gloss to *supplicium*. Orelli read *marcenti.*

14. **donativom**: delay in the payment having largely contributed to Galba's fall.

15. **liberti principum**: v. i. 46.

20. **pecuniae inludere**, 'made ducks and drakes of his money,' as we should say. Cp. *A.* xv. 42, *viribus principis inludere.*

XCV.

1. **natalem Vitellii diem** : Vitellius was born either Sept. 7 or 29, A.D. 15 (Suet. *Vit.* 3).

2. **vicatim**, sc. *per singulos vicos.* 'Augustus made the *vici* subdivisions of the fourteen regions into which he divided the city. In this division each *vicus* consisted of one main street, including several smaller by-streets : their number was 424.' (*Dict. of Antiq.*)

4. **laetum**, etc. The neuter adject. substantivally used is here the subject of a sentence, as in 92 (*gratum...etiam plebs adprobavit*) it is the object.

6. **inferias Neroni** : Suetonius confirms this, adding that Vitellius did it *adhibita sacerdotum frequentia.* Nero's monument on the Pincian was visible from the Campus Martius.

8. **Romulus Tatio** : Tacitus gives the truer account, *A.* i. 54, where he says *ut quondam Titus Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat.* Heräus reads, *Titios T. Tatio regi*, alleging the necessity of inserting something to correspond to *sacerdotium :* but it is easy to understand *sacerdotium* again before *Tatio.* Nipperdey and Ritter omit *quod...sacravit* altogether.

10. **nondum...et** : cp. *A.* xv. 40, *necdum positus metus, et rediit haud levius rursum grassatus ignis.* Virgil sets the example for this construction by such sentences as *vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore Intonuit laevum* (*Aen.* ii. 692).

11. **Polyclitos**, cp. i. 37 : **Patrobios**, i. 49.

14. **sumptu ganeaque** : cp. 62, and Suet. *Vit.* 13.

15. **abunde ratus**, sc. *esse :* the adverb is used as a predicate. Cp. i. 75, *utrisque frustra fuit.* There is the same expression in a fragment of Sallust : *abunde libertatem rati, quia tergis abstinetur.*

19. **Vinios Fabios**, men of good family ; **Icelos Asiaticos**, freedmen : all alike robbed their country.

Marcellus, sc. M. Eprius. Mucianus 'played the part of the emperor's colleague' (83).

XCVI.

1. **tertiae legionis**, in Moesia : 85.

8. **constare fidem** : coins of Vitellius' time bear the inscrip-

tion *fides exercituum* and *consensus exercituum.* *Constare* is here used in its original sense of remaining firm and unmoved: cp. Virg. *Aen.* iii. 518, *postquam cuncta videt caelo constare sereno.*

10. **exauctoratos**: cp. 67.

13. **id praecipuum alimentum famae**: for the thought cp. the expression in i. 17, *male coercitam famam supprimentes augebant.*

4. **H. Flaccus**, commanding on the left bank of the Rhine (57). On V. Bolanus *v.* 65.

5. **suspectis iam Batavis**, soon to raise the standard of revolt under Civilis.

8. **nullo tum ibi consulari**, sc. *legato Augusti propraetore:* Cluvius Rufus being an absentee governor (65).

9. **trium legionum**: VI. Victrix, X. Femina, I. Adjutrix.

10. **prosperis Vit. rebus**, etc., 'in the event of his success they would have been rivals in flattery.' The future partic. is used as it is in Horace's *Septimi Gades aditure mecum;* cp. iii. 54, *si liceret, narraturi.* The same thing would be expressed in Greek by the aorist partic. with ἂν. *Ad* here means 'with respect to': cp. *A.* i. 40, *degenerem ad pericula;* and Cic. *in Verr.* v. 68, *nihil tam clausum ad exitum...nihil tam tutum ad custodiam nec fieri nec cogitari potest.*

15. **favorabilem**, synon. with *gratiosum;* cp. *favorabilis oratio, A.* ii. 36. Suetonius agrees with Tacitus as to Vitellius: not however as to Vespasian, who, he says, *Africam integerrime nec sine magna dignatione administravit* (*Vesp.* 4).

18. **contra fuit**: *v.* on 95.

XCVIII.

2. **Valerius Festus**, a relative of Vitellius, was *legatus* of the 3rd legion: cp. iv. 48.

8. **fefellere**, ἔλαθον. Cp. 34, *nihil eorum Vitellianos fallebat.*

11. **Pannonicas Alpes**, now known as the Julian Alps, extending from the source of the Save, south-east between the Isonzo, Save, and Kulpa, to Fiume and the Dalmatian coast-range. The road over these mountains from Aquileia

into Pannonia crossed the Adelsberger Pass—the watershed between the Danube and Adriatic—and ran thence north-east past Aemona (Laibach), over the Trogana Pass near St. Oswald, and thence to Petau, where were the headquarters of the 13th legion.

13. **etesiarum**, a north-west wind, blowing for about a month from July 20: cp. Caes. *B.C.* iii. 107, *etesiis tenebatur, qui Alexandria navigantibus sunt adversissimi.*

XCIX.

1. **inruptione hostium** alone depends on *exterritus: nuntiis* being an ablat. of attendant circumstance.

3. **expedire**: cp. i. 10, *quotiens expedierat.*

9. **rarum**, 'broken.'

10. **quantumque hebes.** The older writers would say *hebetior:* but Livy and Tacitus often construct such clauses with the positive in the first section and the compar. in the second alone. Cp. *A.* i. 57, *quanto quis audacia promptus tanto magis fidus:* 68, *quanto inopina tanto majora.* This is really the more correct form of expression: in the present case, for instance, it is not the degree but the simple fact of the soldiers' inability to bear hardship which makes them the more ready to quarrel.

13. **seu**, 'or perhaps.' Observe the co-ordination of the participle with the dependent clause.

17. **pacta**, sc. *pactas condiciones;* cp. iii. 9, *pacta perfidiae.*

C.

3. **primae, quartae**, etc. M. has *in quattuor decum xiii.* The conjecture in the text is based on iii. 22 and ii. 89.

7. **trium Brit. legionum**: *v.* 57.

9. **exercitui quem ipse ductaverat**: on which *v.* i. 61, 64. *Ductare* is a word originally belonging to the popular speech (and used by Plautus and Terence), and first introduced into

refined language by Sallust. Quintilian (viii. 3. 44) says, '*ductare exercitus' et 'patrare bellum,' apud Sallustium dicta sancte et antique, deridentur a nobis, si dis placet : quam culpam non scribentium quidem judico, sed legentium.*

13. **legiones** : I. Italica and XXI. Rapax : cp. iii. 14.

14. **Hostiliam** (Ostiglia, on the Po) at the junction of the via Postumia with the road from Verona.

16. **secretum componendae proditionis.** This genitive, originally a genit. of quality, describes the nature (and thus the object or intention) of the substantive with which it is connected, and eventually attains a final meaning without having any substantive to qualify : cp. *A.* ii. 59, *Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis :* as the Greeks use τοῦ with the infinitive to denote purpose. Nipperdey (on *A.* ii. 59) traces the development of this construction from the genitive of quality combined with a noun (as in the present instance) to the genitive of purpose standing with a verb. Other instances of the early usage are *condendae urbis locum* (Liv. i. 1) : *sulcus designandi oppidi* (*A.* xii. 24).

17. **Luc. Bassus** according to a military *diploma* of Vespasian bore the praenomen Sextus.

18. **post praefecturam alae** : cp. 92, *praeposuerat praetorianis P. Sabinum a praefectura cohortis.*

21. **ulciscebatur** = 'he was ready to vent' his anger.

23. **ut et similes sint** : *et* does not seem to have much force : Urlichs would read *ut et consiliis similes sint.*

CI.

1. **Scriptores** : Tacitus's principal authority was probably Cluvius Rufus : on whom *v.* i. 8 and Note A. Other writers of this period mentioned by him as occasional sources of information are the elder Pliny—to whom he alludes in iii. 28—and Vipstanus Messala, a military tribune who served under Vespasian against Vitellius. He too is referred to in iii. 28 and 25. Pliny's history appears to have been a continuation of the work of Aufidius Bassus.

4. **corruptas in adulationem causas** : 'reasons wrongly alleged, to suit their purpose of flattery.'

10. **subruebat** : cp. iii. 13 *seqq.*

NOTE A.

TACITUS' RELATION TO PLUTARCH AND CLUVIUS RUFUS.

Professor Mommsen (*Hermes*, vol. iv.) maintains that for the events of 69 A.D. Tacitus and Plutarch have both not only drawn largely from the same authority, but have made this one work their principal source of evidence: this authority being Cluvius Rufus, who is mentioned by Tacitus and Pliny as the author of *historiae* probably covering a period extending from the reign of Caligula to that of Vespasian. In support of this assumption he points to the general resemblance between the narrative of Tacitus in the first two books of the Histories and that of Plutarch in his biographies of Otho and Galba: and asserts that, while it is extremely improbable that Tacitus copied from Plutarch, a reversal of the process would have been chronologically impossible.

A review of the general relations between the work of the two historians shows that while they differ in method they do not substantially contradict each other as to facts. Tacitus indeed mentions many things omitted by Plutarch, and *vice versa*: but this is because the one is an annalist, the other a biographer. Plutarch devotes 18 chapters to the earlier part of Galba's reign: Tacitus is obliged by the custom of Roman annalists to begin his narrative with the year (in this case 69) and only refers briefly to the events of the preceding autumn. On the other hand the first 11 chapters of the *Histories* allude here and there to provincial matters which Plutarch deliberately passes over, in so far as they do not immediately affect the fortunes of Galba. In general it may be said that Plutarch sets aside all incidents not directly connected with the two emperors: for instance, the Sarmatian raid which is described in *Hist.* i. 79: while Tacitus as a rule avoids personal details, more especially where they seem to be beneath the dignity of history. Each author aims at a different object. They select different sets of facts: but they select them from the same storehouse. Their narratives are thus not contradictory, but mutually supplementary: where Plutarch's story contains some detail omitted in Tacitus' account, the incident mentioned by the Greek must appear to every practised judgment to be an integral part of that narrative from which Tacitus has borrowed.

This general harmony and absence of directly conflicting testimony is the more striking when we consider that the history of the period embraces a mass of personal anecdotes and military and political details, which could scarcely fail to

give rise to contradictory tradition, were there not throughout some one authority generally relied upon by both historians. Even where Tacitus appears at first sight to refer to more sources than one (ii. 37) the account given by his *quidam auctores* is substantially the same as Plutarch's; and we may infer that here too the two historians are borrowing from the same source, and that Tacitus has only mentioned his authority in order to express his own dissent from that authority's conclusions.

Professor Mommsen's assumption is based not only on the subject matter but on the actual phraseology of the two narratives. Grant that neither author has copied from the other—and we cannot help admitting some one model for the many striking expressions which Plutarch and Tacitus have in common. It is only necessary to mention such phrases as *φοβούμενος αὐτὸς ἦν φοβερὸς*, paralleled by *cum timeret Otho timebatur* (i. 81), or *flagitia invicem obiectavere, neuter falso* (i. 74), of which the Greek equivalent is *πολλὰ βλάσφημα καὶ ἀσελγῆ χλευάζοντες ἀλλήλοις ἔγραφον οὐ ψευδῶς*. It is not of course to be supposed that the majority or even many of Tacitus' dicta are thus borrowed: but it is probable that Cluvius Rufus was an epigrammatist and maker of phrases after the fashion of his day, and Tacitus found it convenient to appropriate occasionally the work of an artist whose manner resembled his own.

On the other hand, according to a note in Nipperdey's Introduction to the *Annals*, Mommsen has no sufficient grounds for the assumption that the *Otho* and *Galba* of Plutarch preceded the *Histories*. It is moreover (the writer asserts) extremely improbable that Tacitus should have copied to any considerable extent from the work of so very recent an author as Rufus: such an hypothesis would be incompatible with Tacitus' reputation among his contemporaries: nor is it credible that the author of the *Annals*—where according to Mommsen himself he is far more independent than in the *Histories*—should have condescended to such an appropriation of ready-made materials.

[It would be strange also that, if Tacitus allows his own genius free play in the *Annals*, he should be contented with a mere transcription when narrating events many of which he himself must have remembered. It must be borne in mind that the *Histories*—though prior in point of time to the *Annals*—are not a juvenile essay, the work of an author who feels himself not yet strong enough to stand alone: they are the production of Tacitus' mature genius.]

NOTE B.

HERÄUS' EXPLANATION OF II. 25.

The object of Paulinus' manoeuvre here described was to outflank the enemy by an *oblique* formation. While Celsus had commenced operations by advancing the cavalry posted on both wings, Paulinus caused the infantry, who were originally drawn up in line, to retreat *en échelon.* The three praetorian cohorts, whose place was on the highway in the centre of the line, must have retired farthest back, so that to a certain extent they formed the rear guard: the legions posted right and left of the road (the 1st and a detachment of the 13th) took up a position slightly in advance of the praetorians, still facing the enemy: while the six auxiliary cohorts on the right and left wings remained so far in advance of the other troops as eventually to be able to take the impetuously pursuing Vitellians in flank (*a lateribus cohortes*). At this crisis of the battle, the cavalry under Celsus having retreated to the rear between the 1st and 13th legions, the legionary troops closed in on the centre, and thus formed an attacking line right across the road and the adjacent fields (*legionum adversa frons*): while the praetorian cohorts formed a reserve on the highway behind them. At the same time the cavalry corps of 1000 praetorians and auxiliaries (described in 24 as *cumulus prosperis aut subsidium laborantibus*) executing a rapid flank movement, took the Vitellians in rear, so that the enemy was now completely surrounded (*subito discursu terga cinxerat eques*). Thus we see why it was that when the formation was completed the praetorian infantry took no part in the actual fighting: the legionary troops must have closed in so as to form a continuous line at the moment after Celsus and his cavalry had ridden back between their two divisions: so that the praetorians, thus separated from the legionaries by the retreating horsemen, could find no immediate employment in the attacking line; the gap through which the cavalry had passed being closed by the legionaries coming into direct touch with each other.

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